

ANCIENT ART OF THE FLORIDA PENINSULA: 500 B.C. TO A.D. 1763

By

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

BCAS	Broward County Archaeological Society, Dania
FAU	Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton
FBAR	Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee
FLMNH	Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville
FSU	Florida State University, Tallahassee
HMSF	Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami
NMAI-SI	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (formerly the Heye Foundation), New York
NMNH-SI	National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
SEAC-NPS	Southeastern Archeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee
SFM	South Florida Museum, Bradenton
TMM	Temple Mound Museum, Fort Walton Beach
UM	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
YPM	Yale Peabody Museum, New Haven, Connecticut

NOTE: Site numbers appear in parentheses after site names. The site number is composed of three parts: "8" refers to Florida, the two letter abbreviation refers to the appropriate county, and the final numerals refer to site number within each county.

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Six thousand years ago changes in water level and climate helped create the Everglades and St. Johns River, major hydrographic features of southern and eastern Florida. Archaic cultures developed unique adaptations to these regions, and produced carvings in bone and wood, an artistic tradition that extended across peninsular Florida.

Around 300 B.C. these local cultures participated in an exchange network that involved groups throughout the Southeast and Midwest. Contact with these Hopewellian cultures introduced a new art style and its associated symbolism, and provided the impetus for several major artistic traditions in Florida, including those of Weeden Island and the Glades tradition. The Mississippian horizon of A.D. 1000 introduced another set of artistic themes, some of which were incorporated into the local systems.

This study presents a detailed discussion of the styles that resulted from involvement in the Hopewellian horizon, and the changes experienced following contact with Mississippian expression. The processes of traditionalism and reinterpretation are the basic interpretive themes followed throughout the study. These functioned together to reformulate introduced elements, and produce several unique systems of visual expression. Changes occurring in art are magnified during the era of European contact, when changes in sociopolitical organization confront earlier patterns of traditionalism.

CHAPTER 1 GLADES TRADITION ART

Introduction

This study brings together a corpus of southern Florida art, and develops a structural model of the position of this material culture within the broader sphere of the Glades tradition and related cultural phenomena of the Florida peninsula. The objects figured and described here represent the product of human activity at several levels, ranging from technical achievement, to symbolism, to expression. Examination of formal or stylistic aspects of Glades and related arts is used to interpret meaning and function, and the position of the objects between human actors.

The Glades Tradition

John Goggin (1949:17) applied the concept of a cultural tradition to Florida archaeology with a broad stroke, and created a flexible, integrative organizational system. Goggin (1949) envisioned ten major culture traditions, ranging temporally and geographically, with some occasional overlap, from Paleo-Indian through Seminole. Southern Florida became equated with the Glades tradition. Willey and Phillips (1958:36) discuss the metamorphosis that the concept of tradition experienced in Goggin's hands, emerging from the ceramic tradition as used in South American

archaeology to the culture tradition of Florida archaeology.

Goggin defines his organizational tool as follows:

My concept of Florida cultural traditions is similar in theory but more inclusive in content than a ceramic tradition. A cultural tradition is a distinctive way of life, reflected in various aspects of the culture; perhaps extending through some period of time and exhibiting normal internal cultural changes, but nevertheless throughout this period showing a basic consistent unity. In the whole history of a tradition certain persistent themes dominate the life of the people. (1949:17)

The concept of horizon, or horizon style, helps provide some periodicity to the tradition, and is usually characterized by an intense, distinctive, short-lived art style spread over a broad geographic area. In the Florida case, major horizons correlate with the occurrence of Hopewellian and Mississippian art styles (see Table 1-1).

Specifically regarding the Glades tradition, Goggin (1949:28-29) notes a strong correspondence between geography, adaptation, and cultural development. The Glades tradition is characterized by exploitation of the aquatic environments that predominate in southern Florida. Technology reflects this adaptation, with major industries in shell, bone and wood, giving the tradition an "Archaic cast" (Goggin 1949:28). In terms of art and ceremonialism, Goggin (1949:31-32) suggests a late development referred to as the "Glades Cult." As demonstrated below, and throughout the following chapters, Goggin's temporal understanding of the phenomena and paraphernalia included in the cult was limited, with a much greater time depth than he originally

expected. For this reason Goggin (1949:28, 31-32) included temporally distinct phenomena in the "Glades Cult," including earthworks, large wooden plaques, and artifacts of precious metals.

Time and Space in Southern Florida

Goggin (1947b, 1948, n.d.), relying on a series of relatively distinct decorated pottery types, created a temporal sequence for the Glades Area. Table 1-1 presents the Glades sequence, as revised and correlated with radiocarbon dating (Griffin 1988:120-129; Widmer 1988:Table 2). These pottery types are characterized by an assortment of simple, repetitive geometric designs. While primarily recognized as temporally sensitive markers, the decorated Glades series types also vary in their geographic distribution. Some regions of southern Florida lack quantities of the decorated Glades types for reliable seriation, or have only a few specific types. This has led to the generation of a number of additional chronologies, though more often than not, the Glades decorated types or extra-areal marker types (i.e., St. Johns Check Stamped) are relied on in dating sites or assemblages.

Geographically the Glades Area, or southern Florida region, comprises approximately one-third of the Florida peninsula. The Everglades or "Glades" is a major hydrographic feature of the region, hence Goggin's designation as the "Glades Area." In fact, hydrographic

components are often more likely the defining elements of the landscape. For example, the Kissimmee River-Lake Okeechobee basin forms a major drainage in the north and central part of southern Florida, and also correlates with the Belle Glade or Okeechobee culture region, a distinctive constellation within the Glades tradition. Equally distinct cultural variants are found in the asterion areas of the Caloosahatchee and Ten Thousand Islands. Carr and Beriault (1984) present the best classification for southern Florida culture regions, and their divisions are followed in Figure 1-1.

Approaches to Native Art

Morphy (1989:3) suggests five components to the study of archaeologically known art--identification, representation, composition, meaning, and interpretation. Identification refers to the initial stage of research wherein the subjects of the art are identified and placed within a time-space framework.

The concept of representation deals with the process of art--the manner in which meaning is encoded in art objects. This process involves how the art is intended to be seen and who the intended audience was. Along these lines Morphy (1989:7) cites numerous groups where several systems of meaning are operating at the same time. As will be demonstrated in the case of the Glades tradition, this multiplicity of symbol systems may exist in the later phases

of the tradition. Representation is essentially the relationship of meaning and form, an important structure stressed by Kubler (1962).

Composition refers to the way in which elements and/or representations are combined together into a whole. In some sense composition is the equivalent of a "scene." The bulk of the art described here for the Glades tradition is difficult to conceive of in terms of composition. Ceramic effigies, wood carvings or decorated bone pins do not often combine smaller subunits of meaning to represent an event or sequence of action. In some cases context may substitute for composition, where groups of artifacts are manipulated together and then deposited together, either intentionally or accidentally. In any case, the use of composition or scene is of limited use in the study of most Glades tradition art.

Theories of meaning in archaeologically known art are becoming increasingly complex, and rely more extensively on ethnographic information. The problem with the Florida case is that the only ethnographic information is derived from the incomplete accounts of missionaries, shipwreck survivors and conquistadors. Continuities between late Glades tradition, Mississippian and historic southeastern peoples may also provide some additional ethnographic data for some of the art considered here.

Interpreting or modelling the system is the goal of the analysis, and needs to be involved at each of the previous

stages mentioned above. The lack of ethnographic data in understanding meaning provides a significant limitation to the types of models that can be applied to the arts of Florida. This lack requires a focus on representation and form to inform meaning.

Models of Hopewellian and Mississippian Art

Two major models, either directly or indirectly applicable to the study of Florida arts, can be compared and contrasted as a point of departure for developing a new integrative model of human and non-human agency and power negotiation. The first is that of the Hopewell Tradition, whose center and origin is the Ohio Valley. Some suggest a major role for corn agriculture in Hopewellian societies (Prufer 1964; Sears 1971), while others maintain that corn was of minor importance (Griffin 1979:273, 277-278). Dating to the Middle Woodland period (ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300), Hopewellian peoples engaged in a far-reaching exchange network that realized the movement of rare and exotic goods (as well as artistic themes and motifs) throughout the Midwest and Southeast. Many cultures of this time period have ceremonial overlays that reflect interaction within this exchange network, including Swift Creek, Deptford, St. Johns, and others in Florida with their attendant Yent and Green Point overlays (Sears 1962a).

The second model of artistic expression is found in the Mississippian horizon (ca. A.D. 1000 to 1500). Artistic

expression among Mississippian-related peoples is characterized by a variable set of themes and motifs executed in shell, copper, and ceramics. Exchange in exotic goods, like marine shell and copper, also characterizes Mississippian era societies. Architecture and artifacts indicate the existence of an emergent elite class, with inherited status. Analogies with tribal groups of the ethnohistoric and ethnographic Southeast also indicate a greater reliance on corn agriculture during the Mississippian era, with attendant ritual and sociopolitical organization. The Fort Walton peoples of the Florida panhandle exhibit Mississippian cultural patterns, and the Lake Jackson site is a major center of this era. Platform mounds and elite burials also are known from the St. Johns River basin, and the central Gulf Coast and Manatee regions.

Hopewellian Expression

Naturalistic representations of animals characterize much of Hopewellian artistic expression. A diverse array of animals is portrayed, especially in effigy platform pipes, but also in mica cut-outs, cut and repoussé copper, engraved bone and shell. An abstract or emblematic style of zoomorphic symbolism exists alongside the naturalistic portrayals. Headdresses and masks depicting animals, like the deer, wolf, and bear, are also known. Parts of animals, especially teeth and mandibles were used as ornaments. Most of the animals depicted by Hopewell artists were those

native to the Midwest, but exotic species like the Carolina parakeet, parrot, roseate spoonbill, alligator, manatee, and ocelot are also known--perhaps through trade or capture of wandering members of these species. Mythic or composite creatures rarely occur, including what may be the "underwater panther" described by contemporary tribes of the Midwest, Plains, and Southeast. The effigy carvings, engravings, and cut-outs of these animals come from various contexts, but primarily from caches in and around the "altars" discovered within burial mounds. Greber and Ruhl (1989:287-289) have posited that the ceremonial caches of Hopewell mounds result from cyclical rituals linked to the fortunes of the societal leaders.

Several secondary models can be proposed to account for the prominence of animals in Hopewellian artistic expression, and all of these may apply in one fashion or another. Researchers often suggest that the animals depicted in Hopewell art are clan emblems or totems. Ritual attention to clan founders is a common pattern in the Southeast, where social groups with animal and plant names (and presumed progenitors) are common. Ritual specialists are often drawn from specific clans or gens, or each social group may produce specialists who know how to conduct the rites associated with the clan founder. In many cases dances are ascribed to specific animals, who are said to have composed the choreography and music (Howard 1984; Speck

1907). These dances are included as parts of other cyclically occurring ceremonies, or may be involved in shamanic performance designed to cure a disease caused by a specific animal. Witthoft (1949) provides an important insight in his discussion of "first fruits" rites among southeastern tribes. The Green Corn Ceremony of contemporary tribes is a survival of one of many cyclical rituals dedicated to the first appearance of seasonal wild plants and animals. Perhaps the best models for the ritual paraphernalia of Hopewell can be found in the bundle ceremonies of contemporary Plains, Midwest, and Southeast tribes. In this case, a ceremonial bundle, often originating with a particular animal, plant, natural object, or deity, is owned by an individual who knows how to perform the bundle's attendant ceremonies. These ceremonies may be a first fruits or first animals rite (i.e., Green Corn), a ceremony dedicated to a mythic creature (i.e., the underwater panther), or a ceremony dedicated to a particular activity (i.e., warfare, revenge, peace).

Specifically relating to the Hopewell case, Greber and Ruhl (1989:275-286) suggest a system of complementary dualities existed in Hopewell society, one which provided a structuring structure or root metaphor for the organization of other, more superficial levels of society. This complementary duality is manifested in the segregation of certain types of tools and exotic goods in ceremonial

deposits, the lay-out of ceremonial enclosures, the relationship of deer and bear iconography, and the distinct forms of avian iconography. Images of the deer and bear occur in several forms in Hopewell art, including as elements of costume or headdress. Willoughby (in Greber and Ruhl 1989:95-96, 99-100, 277) recovered a series of copper and wood headdresses from the Hopewell site that replicated the various stages in the life of the male deer, including juvenile, spike buck, and mature forms. Mills (1922:Fig. 68) recovered the remains of a bear headdress at Mound City, with movable ears. Copper cut-outs from Hopewell and other sites unite the abstract representation of the deer and bear, indicating a link between these two animals (Greber and Ruhl 1989:278-282). Avian imagery is exceptionally diverse at Midwestern Hopewell sites, and Greber and Ruhl (1989:285) recognize four major classes:

- (1) passeriforms (i.e., song and perching birds)
- (2) raptors (nonpasseriforms)
- (3) water birds (nonpasseriforms)
- (4) other nonpasseriforms (i.e., woodpeckers and kingfishers)

The significance of these groups is unclear, though the roseate spoonbill, a prominent theme found in Hopewellian ceramics and carved pipes, may have served as a "game master" as Hall (1979:258-259) suggests.

Considering the details provided by Greber and Ruhl (1989), it is possible to comment on the structures of Hopewellian symbolism, and the relationship between ritual

and art. Greber and Ruhl (1989:287-289) suggest two cycles that governed the ceremonies that resulted in the deposit of the elaborate arts and exotic goods, namely a socially recognized cycle derived from cosmology, and a cycle based on the fortunes of leaders. Considering the animal forms of the costumes recovered and the naturalistic themes of other arts, it is likely that animal ceremonialism was an integral component in the mediation between deeper social structures and the lives of people in Hopewellian societies. This is likely the kind of animal ceremonialism posited by Witthoft (1949) as the background of contemporary ritual in the Southeast.

Considering the emphasis on animals in Hopewell art and ritual, some comments on Native American perceptions of animals and humans may be pertinent. Both Hallowell (1926:7-9) and Miller (1982:274) point out that to the Native people of North America the distinction between human and animal is blurred, with a broader range of recognized types of people, only some of which are human. This "anthropocentric universe," as described by Douglas (1970:98, 104), may or may not be universal among pre-industrial people, but certainly characterizes some Native societies in eastern North America. Speck (as cited in Hallowell 1926:7-8) notes that the Penobscot viewed birds as a mirror image of human society, with tribes and bands, separated by their different structures, languages and

customs. Elements of this belief appear in the Cherokee cosmology where the "Upper World," the realm of celestial deities and birds, existed as an ideal model for "This World," and its human inhabitants (Hudson 1976:123-125). In this sense, the animal symbolism of Hopewell might best be understood as an extension or alternative aspect of the human world. Or perhaps these human and animal worlds exist as a reflexive models of one another. Concerning the Florida example, evidence comes from the Calusa ethnohistoric documents of Juan Rogel who recorded the following belief on the soul:

They have another error also, that when a man dies, his soul enters into some animal or fish. And when they kill such an animal, it enters into another lesser one so that little by little it reaches the point of being reduced into nothing. (Hann 1991:238)

Mississippian Expression

Mississippian artistic expression inherits elements from earlier Hopewellian systems, including the use of marine shell and copper, as well as the exchange of exotic and rare goods, presumably between the elites of the centers of power. Some Mississippian themes and motifs also have antecedents in Hopewell art, including the bi-lobed arrow, the horned serpent, and the hawk or peregrine falcon. Shared rituals include the use of "black drink" medicine and marine shell cups or dippers, as well as the ritual use of tobacco. A major thematic shift, however, is a focus on human and composite human-animal images, largely absent from

the earlier, naturalistic representations of Hopewell. These images often take the form of humans in animal costume, as in the engraved shell gorgets and shell cups. Large stone statues and pipes also depict humans, the former of which often received burial just as "real" human beings. Despite early definitions of a "Southern Cult" or Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Waring and Holder 1945), recent studies have pointed to considerable regional variations in the themes, motifs, and forms or expression (Brown 1976; Muller 1966; 1989).

Howard (1968) has presented extensive evidence for historical links between contemporary southeastern tribes and the groups of the pre-contact Mississippian world. In this analysis the art and paraphernalia of the SECC are interpreted in terms of the mythology and ceremonialism of ethnographically known Southeast Indians, namely that surrounding the Green Corn Ceremony. Howard's (1968) model of Mississippian ritual and art suggests that the Green Corn Ceremony emerged as the primary religious and artistic focus from a plethora of earlier rites dedicated to animal and plant species. The motifs and themes of the SECC are interpreted within this system.

Knight (1986) provides a model of Mississippian religion, suggesting three interrelated cults, each with its own organization, leadership, and iconic manifestations. These cults include a warfare/cosmogony complex with

membership restricted to a particular unilineal descent group or clan; a communal cult with membership cross-cutting descent, sex, and age groups; and a priesthood composed of highly trained initiates drawn from specific age graded and sex bound groups (Knight 1986:680-681). This latter cult served a mediating role between the chiefly and communal ritual organizations. The warfare/cosmogony cult controlled knowledge related to mythological beings and success in military affairs; office-holders may be identified as warrior-chiefs and their councilors. Presumably the copper and marine shell representations of warriors, as well as the maces, clubs, atlatis, and other ritual weapons, are associated with this cult. The communal cult is evidenced in periodic rites of intensification, which result in mound building. Knight (1986:683) compares the activities of this cult with those known for the Green Corn ceremony. The priestly cult was primarily dedicated to maintenance of the temple statuary, the sacred fire, and mortuary ritual. Presumably the focus of this cult was some form of ancestor veneration.

Knight's model (1986:681-682) is interesting in that it is not tied to specific economic systems (i.e., maize agriculture), and further suggests an expansion of these cult institutions into a diverse array of cultures across the Southeast, including Safety Harbor, Fort Walton and Pensacola in Florida. The mechanism for this expansion is

explained by Knight (1986:681-682) within the context of changing sociopolitical forms in the Southeast, and emphasizes the spread of particular cult institutions in attempts to expand spheres of influence and increase power through control of esoteric knowledge.

On a deeper structural level Hudson (1984:11-15) uses ethnographic information on the Cherokee to generate a model that might be applicable to interpreting aspects of the SECC and Mississippian iconography. One important element of this model is the tripartite division of the cosmos into "this world (the earth), the upper world, and the under world (11-12)".

An Alternative Model

The Glades and related traditions of the Florida peninsula lend themselves to a study of periodicity as described by Kubler (1970). In this sense there are a succession of periods, alternatively characterized by processes of traditionalism or reinterpretation, or relationships with external sources. The earliest of these periods is characterized by a pre-Glades or Archaic tradition.

Pre-Glades Tradition Expression

I have described elsewhere the Paleo-Indian (12500-8000 B.C.) and Archaic (8000-500 B.C.) substratum upon which much of Florida's native art rests (Wheeler 1994). A cohesive set of geometric designs, incised and engraved on antler and

bone, is known from a number of early river localities, and from a group of pond burials located throughout the Florida peninsula (Figure 1-2). Form and design are united to portray rattlesnakes or serpents, with cross-hatched engraving augmenting the carved antler shaft "serpent" form. Serpent imagery would appear to be the earliest zoöomorphic symbolism evidenced in the Glades tradition, and this is added to in subsequent styles.

During this early period antler seems to gain importance as a medium for carving the form of the serpent--an association that persists throughout the duration of the Glades tradition. The most notable carvings, which take the form of the serpent (emphasized by cross-hatched incising and/or diamond-shaped incising) are found with individuals buried in shallow pond cemeteries. The Gauthier site contained the remains of one such individual, a robust male buried with over 50 artifacts (Jones in Carr 1981:84, 86).

Even at this early stage there is evidence for the black drink ritual. Material expression of this ritual is best found in the shell cups and dippers cut from large marine shells. The black drink ritual was a component of other southeastern ceremonies, and was documented in southern Florida in A.D. 1696 by Dickinson (in Andrews and Andrews 1945:46-47). Wheeler and McGee (1994:365) have suggested the development of the technological aspects of the black drink in the direct-fire cooking method of the

yaupon leaves (*Ilex vomitoria*) in the shell vessels. Le Moyne (in Hulton 1977:148, 152, Pls. 121, 132) witnessed the use of black drink among the Timucua in the 16th century, including the inclusion of a shell dipper in a burial mound.

A Model of Glades Tradition Aesthetics

Considering the two models of Hopewellian and Mississippian artistic expression discussed above, as well as general knowledge of Glades and pre-Glades art, a diachronic model of Glades expression, with several attendant questions, can be formulated. Contact and involvement in the Hopewell horizon introduced an elaborate set of iconographic elements, primarily naturalistic animal themes, into Florida. These themes were compatible with existing systems of expression (i.e., pre-Glades and Mount Taylor antler carving), and were reinterpreted in the local media and styles. Two parallel trajectories resulted, Weeden Island in northwestern, northern, and north-central Florida, and the Glades in southern and eastern Florida. The artists of the former elaborated ceramic arts, while the artists of the latter maintained expression in wood, bone, and antler carving. The question arises: "Did the people of Florida adopt deeper systems of Hopewellian symbolism--the structuring structures--or was their borrowing restricted to more superficial levels of iconography, form, and design?"

By definition, the Glades tradition does not engender change. However, the peoples of Florida were involved in

the Mississippian phenomenon described above. The areas previously characterized by the Weeden Island culture underwent dramatic changes, including major shifts in artistic expression. Influences of Mississippian iconographic systems are more subtle in southern Florida, though there are manifestations of Mississippian art and architecture in Safety Harbor, a culture of the Manatee and Central Gulf Coast regions. Other elements of Mississippian art occur in the Okeechobee basin and in southeastern Florida. In all these cases the patterns of reinterpretation or syncretism are observed (e.g., Safety Harbor ceramics incorporates Mississippian form and iconography with Weeden Island form, decorative treatment, and design). Earlier patterns of naturalistic expression continue alongside these new themes, motifs, and forms. A more complicated question arises: "Do these changes reflect superficial borrowing; major changes in deeper systems of belief, symbolism, and sociopolitical organization; or limited changes in deeper structures emphasized by borrowing and reinterpretation?"

Assuming that systems of representation are related to deeper "structuring structures" of kinship, religion, and political organization, it can be argued that the differences in Hopewellian and Mississippian art reflect changes at these deeper levels. Regarding the Glades tradition, the questions involve the level of changes, the

new structures influencing representation, and older structures dedicated to maintenance of traditional systems of expression. By comparing the art of the Glades with the continuum of Hopewell into Mississippian, the aesthetic system of southern Florida can be situated with respect to internal changes and external relationships.

Ethnohistoric Evidence

Ethnohistoric accounts of the production and use of art by Native Floridians is limited, but that which does exist closely parallels the archaeological remains discussed in the following chapters. Information from contact era sources indicates that analogs to the art objects described in this study can be found in the ritual paraphernalia, architecture, and personal adornment of the 16th and 17th century Florida Natives. Images of birds carved in wood were reported as gods of the cemetery, or as elements of temple architecture (Alaña in Hann 1991:422; Gentleman of Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:57), and there are some descriptions of "ugly masks" used in ritual processions (Rogel in Hann 1991:287). Other accounts mention objects of precious metal worn as adornment by the Florida Natives (Le Moyne in Hulton 1977:Pl. 106; Rogel in Hann 1991:268).

Considering the ritual context for some of the arts described in the ethnohistoric documents, it may be valuable to understand the types of ritual specialists and their ceremonies, such as existed in the contact era. The

majority of the evidence points to a shamanic context for art and ritual. This includes wildly ecstatic performance, spirit journey, divination, and curing. Dickinson saw several shamanic performances, including one among the Jobe:

An Indian, who performeth their ceremonies stood out, looking full at the moon making a hideous noise; and crying out acting like a mad man for the space of half an hour; all the Indians being silent till he had done: after which they all made fearful noise some like the barking of a dog, wolf and other strange sounds. (Andrews and Andrews 1945:35)

Juan Rogel describes spirit journey rituals among the 16th century Calusa, a process involving fasting and physical exertion, with the result being an encounter with the gods or ancestors (in Hann 1991:242). Alaña describes spirit death for an 18th century shaman of southern Florida, noting that "he drinks many times till he passes out. . .and they think that such a one dies and returns sanctified" (in Hann 1991:422). Le Moyne describes the 16th century Timucua shaman who was summoned to predict enemy forces (Hulton 1977:143, Pl. 104). Le Moyne notes that the shaman's trance was so intense that he hardly resembled a human being, and de Bry captures this scene in his contorted and twisted image of the old man (Hulton 1977:Pl. 104). These descriptions fit the "classical shamanistic voyage" as documented by Eliade (1964:300-302) and Steadman and Palmer (1994:17).

There are hints, however, that this pattern of shamanic ritual, which undoubtedly characterized the religion of both

the Hopewell horizon and much of the Glades tradition, had a rival in an emergent class of priests during the later phases of the tradition (Marquardt 1991:xvi-xvii). There is evidence in the ethnohistoric documents that the shaman was becoming increasingly involved in affairs of state, as well as a concentration of esoteric knowledge in the Calusa chief and his retinue (Lewis 1978:23). This situation parallels the model presented by Knight (1986, see above), where the ruling class controlled information related to warfare and cosmogony. In most cases, however, the "priest" or "bishop" of southern Florida seems to fill multiple roles, combining priestly and shamanic duties. This composite type religious specialist seems to have existed prior to contact, and is evidenced in the Key Marco collection. Cushing (1897:378-380) describes an assemblage of artifacts from Key Marco that he terms the outfit of a "Shamanistic Priest." This material includes a host of very personal objects like painted animal skulls, rattles, sucking-tubes, scratchers, black-drink utensils, as well as many of the larger, corporate objects described in Chapter 5.

Structure and Process in Glades Tradition Art

The new model for Glades tradition arts developed above places the artist in a central position in the negotiation of power through their special access to esoteric knowledge, and their interaction with local and distant elites, as well as more general audiences. This makes the native artist a

cultural mediator, whose personal vision melds with broader societal structures to create the artistic product. The mediating position of the artist also suggests integrative knowledge at several levels.

This model of Glades tradition art requires some discussion of the context in which art objects are produced. The adherence to style suggests that artistic endeavors are a formal process that may involve apprenticeship or style schools, as postulated by Phillips and Brown (1978:34-37). For artists to attain the special symbolic and ideologic knowledge for expression of their craft suggests some proximity to the elite classes, like those documented among the Calusa and Timucua of the contact era. In both groups, the chief and his principals held special esoteric knowledge (Hann 1991:224-225). To create art in service of, or in counterpoint to, this ideology, the artist must have some knowledge of it. The technical proficiency in evidence in most styles also suggests that artists have some specially developed knowledge and skill of their chosen craft. The influence of horizon styles indicates that artists were involved in exchange networks or travel, at least throughout the state, and maybe beyond. During the contact era there is evidence for contact between the Calusa and the Apalachee, as the chief of the former was said to speak both of these languages (López in Hann 1991:160). The Apalachee were a Mississippian culture of the Florida panhandle, and

are usually associated with the Fort Walton culture. The reinterpretation of exotic arts in native forms and media is the process behind much of this artistic mediation. This is the origin of many of the styles discussed below, including Weeden Island art, which results from a merging of Hopewellian and local styles. The arts of the Glades also grow out of a merger of Hopewellian and pre-Glades styles. It is difficult to decide if the symbolic expression of donor styles is also being manipulated, or if only formal and iconographic features are borrowed. Formal qualities are an expression of deeper symbolic meaning, so it seems likely that artists had more than a passing familiarity with the outward appearance of objects, but also grasped the more esoteric elements. For example, the bone and antler carvings discussed in Chapter 4 preserve some of the formal and iconographic elements of their Hopewellian antecedents (i.e., effigy pipes, plummets), but also retain the personal nature of the artifacts on which they are patterned. Other examples--like the larger, publicly displayed carvings of Fort Center, or the pedestaled effigies of Weeden Island--suggest a movement away from the personal quality of Hopewellian art.

Reinterpretation not only involves shifts in scale and style, but also in media. Antler, bone and wood are the primary artistic media of pre-Glades Florida, and are maintained by Glades tradition artists as the preferred

media. This stands in considerable contrast to Weeden Island arts, which have a common Hopewellian origin, but rely principally on ceramics for artistic expression. Parochial adherence to ancient media in southern Florida comes partly from necessity, but may have a symbolic quality as well. The desire of artists to incorporate new media is evidenced when Spanish shipwreck metals becomes available, and it is likely that this material also had strong symbolic significance.

Four major phases or style systems have been identified within the Glades tradition. Description of these phases will comprise the bulk of the following chapters, and will serve as a contextual base to use in observing changes and continuities within Glades art, as well as acting as a reference for thematic studies of Florida art. As noted above, the principal components of this study are those of identification of the art system elements and determining how the system encodes meaning.

Organization of the Chapters

The bulk of Chapters 2 through 8 are dedicated to the task of identification, as outlined by Morphy (1989:4-6). This is the basic level of analysis whereby the elements of the art and symbol systems are brought together, organized within time and space, and with respect to one another. Each of these chapters contains information on what Morphy (1989:6-8) calls representation. This is a somewhat

autonomous system of meaning that relates to human use (Kubler 1962, 1987:170-171). Essentially, this is the system by which meaning is encoded in art--how it was intended to be seen, who the intended audience was.

Meaning is addressed in each chapter, not only in terms of form, but also through the process of ethnographic analogy with other southeastern and midwestern tribes, and comparison with the limited ethnohistoric literature of Florida. The process of discovering meaning also includes the identification of the animals depicted, and attempts to correlate inferred meaning with inherent characteristics of these animals (Kinsey 1989).

Chapter 2 addresses the direct influences of the Hopewellian horizon in Florida--including discussion of imported items, and those copied in local media, but based on Hopewellian forms. This is an important chapter in that it sets the stage for two major artistic traditions, namely the Glades and Weeden Island. The material discussed here represents an "incipient" Glades tradition, providing many of the basic elements of form and iconography in southern Florida art.

Chapter 3 focuses on Fort Center, the first evidence of a Glades tradition artistic system, borne out of the merging of pre-Glades and Hopewellian systems. Fort Center offers an excellent example of the process of reinterpretation, in which elements of Hopewellian iconography (and symbolism?)

are reworked and modified within the earlier contexts of pre-Glades carving and ceremonialism. The context of the wooden effigies of the Fort Center mortuary pond also allow for a study of composition, or how the elements of the artistic system are combined.

Chapter 4 represents a second case of the "early" Glades tradition, in which Hopewellian zoomorphic imagery is reinterpreted in the bone carving tradition that dates back to the Archaic or pre-Glades era. Unlike the corporate art of Fort Center, the "osseous bestiary" represents different scale of use, perhaps reflecting the more personal relationship between humans and animals.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to an analysis of the art of Key Marco, and provides the first real test of the method outlined above. Key Marco represents the third major form exhibited within Glades tradition art, namely that of non-mortuary ceremonial paraphernalia. Key Marco has remained an enigma due to the presence of what appear to be Mississippian elements and a chronology that pre-dates the Mississippian era and its attendant ceremonial complexes. This mystery is mitigated by comparison of the Key Marco material with both Hopewellian and Mississippian iconography, as well as an attempt to identify the underlying patterns of expression.

Chapter 6 presents an outline of Weeden Island art and symbolism, the other major artistic trajectory of Florida

that is borne out of the Hopewellian horizon. Weeden Island represents an important case, since it shares and overlaps with the Glades tradition in iconography. Unlike the Glades tradition, which reinterprets exotic themes and motifs in the traditional media of bone and wood, Weeden Island develops and elaborates on the ceramic arts of the Hopewellian horizon.

Chapter 7 discusses three major styles related to the Mississippian horizon, and introduction of Mississippian artistic and symbolic elements into the arts of southern Florida. These include Safety Harbor ceramics, the end point in the Hopewellian-Weeden Island continuum, as well as wood and bone carving styles of the Glades tradition. Regarding the model of Glades tradition artistic expression discussed above, this "late" phase represents an important case. The primary question becomes an element of larger questions regarding the changes in sociopolitical organization of southern Florida. Despite the appearance of new or modified art forms, the older naturalistic forms persist, suggesting that the new aspects of warfare, military leadership, and elite power, coexist with more traditional shamanic practices.

Chapter 8 presents evidence for the "terminal" phase of Glades tradition arts. The process of reinterpretation is obvious in this phase in the incorporation and reworking of Spanish shipwreck goods into native forms. The chapter

focuses on two forms--the metal ceremonial tablet and the metal crested-woodpecker--the first with a long history, the second emblematic of the new element of warfare and military leadership seen in Glades arts. What may be most significant in the arts of this final phase are the merging of traditional themes (i.e., the spoonbill) with Mississippian themes and motifs (i.e., the cross-in-circle, the woodpecker) in media associated with the Spanish presence (i.e., silver, gold, brass). Evidence from ethnohistoric accounts and ethnographic analogy indicates this may be a conscious attempt to create alliances (symbolic or real) or appropriate power.

Chapter 9 presents a synthetic and thematic study of the material presented in Chapters 2 through 8 in an attempt to evaluate the model and its attendant hypotheses outlined above. This is the point, as Morphy (1989:12) suggests, where the final goal of analysis meets its beginning.



Figure 1-1. Culture regions of Florida
 (based on Carr and Beriault 1984:12;
 Milanich 1994:xix).

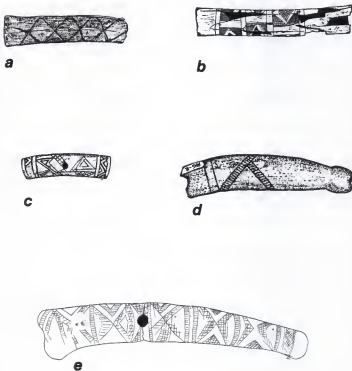


Figure 1-2. Carved bone and antler, pre-Glades Tradition. a, bone tube, Windover (8BR246), FSU 103.17, 8.0 cm; b, bone tube, Windover, FSU 121.45, 10.3 cm; c, antler, Republic Groves (8HR4), FLMNH 93-18-26, 5.6 cm; d, antler, Republic Groves, FLMNH 93-18-51, 10.6 cm; e, antler, Gauthier (8BR193), FBAR, 17.0 cm.

Table 1-1. Chronological sequence for three neighboring cultural trajectories, correlated with major artistic horizons and traditions of the Southeast and Midwest.

DATE	GLADES	ST. JOHNS RIVER	WEEDEN ISLAND	ARTISTIC HORIZONS
1513	Glades IIc	St. Johns IIC		
1400	Glades IIIB	St. Johns IIB		
1200	Glades IIIa			
1000	Glades IIC	St. Johns IIA	Safety Harbor	MISSISSIPPIAN
900	Glades IIB			
700	Glades IIA		Weeden Island II	
500	Glades I late	St. Johns IB		
250			Weeden Island I	
A.D.1		St. Johns Ia late		
200 B.C.		St. Johns Ia early	Yent/Green Point	HOPEWELL
500	Glades I early			
1000	pre-Glades	Transitional		
2500		Orange		
5000				
8000		Mount Taylor		ARCHAIC

CHAPTER 2
THE HOPEWELL HORIZON AND NATIVE FLORIDA ART

Two Florida Art Trajectories

Contact with Hopewellian artists and art work inspired two distinctive artistic and cultural traditions in Florida. To the north, Weeden Island artists built on the base of Hopewellian ceramics originally introduced in the Yent and Green Point complexes. To the south, Glades artists adopted Hopewellian animal symbolism from effigy pipes and plummets to create a host of animal images in antler, bone and wood. This common origin, coupled with geographic proximity, helps explain convergences and correspondences in Weeden Island and Glades arts. This chapter focuses on the Florida Hopewell horizon styles and symbol systems that produce a platform for these later traditions or trajectories. A major distinction between the two traditions lies in the parochial character of Glades artists, who cling to the earlier media of wood and bone, with Weeden Island artists largely abandon the earliest substrate and develop techniques of ceramic modeling and incising. What unites the Weeden Island and Glades traditions are shared art and symbol systems based on the patterns introduced during the Hopewell horizon.

The close of the era of fiber-tempered ceramics, circa 500 B.C., finds a period of several hundred years during which the arts of Florida are influenced by the Hopewellian styles of the Ohio Valley. Temporally the Hopewell climax is usually dated to A.D. 200-300. Geographically many neighboring states have expressions of Hopewellian art, including Marksville in Louisiana; Porter in Alabama; Mandeville and Swift Creek in Georgia; Copena in the mid-South; and Candy Creek in Tennessee and North Carolina (Griffin 1967; Gibson 1970; Walthall 1975; Kellar et al. 1962; Chapman and Keel 1979). Within Florida Hopewellian-influenced sites are primarily known from the panhandle, but occur well into the peninsula on both coasts. Figure 2-1 illustrates Florida Hopewell sites discussed in this chapter. The varied expressions of the Hopewellian phenomena are related by similar mortuary patterns and exotic exchange goods (Seeman 1979b; Caldwell 1964). This chapter explores primary expressions of this Hopewellian art, including locally made and imported ceramics, as well as copper work and effigy plummet forms. This exotic art represents an important horizon in the ancient art of Florida, providing a substratum for much of the forms and images found in the styles that follow. The thematic studies presented in the following chapters often begin with objects of the Florida Hopewell.

Yent and Green Point Complexes

Moore (1895:509; 1907a:422) was one of the first to recognize the similarities between artifacts of Florida sites and those of the Ohio Valley and Midwest. Many of Florida sites contained copper artifacts, galena (native lead), rock crystal, meteoric iron, and other non-local ceramic items linking them to the Hopewellian cultures. Further recognition of these similarities can be found in Greenman (1938), Caldwell (1958), Willey (1945, 1948a, 1948b, 1948c, 1949a), McMichael (1964), Ruhl (1981), and most notably, Sears (1962a). Sears (1962a) provides the most extensive treatment of what he calls the Yent and Green Point complexes, essentially Florida Gulf Coast Hopewell, other Hopewellian manifestations in Florida are unnamed.

These complexes are conceived of as mortuary and ceremonial overlays upon the local Deptford and Santa Rosa/Swift Creek cultures, each with a varying degree of Hopewellian influence. Artifacts typifying Yent and Green Point include exotic goods, as well as unusual locally produced objects. McMichael (1964) has argued that Yent and Green Point should be subsumed under the rubric of Crystal River Complex. All writers have acknowledged that this phenomenon has an extralocal source, with many of the defining artifacts being foreign. For example, the vessels described in the Crystal River series are constructed from micaceous clay and were not likely to have been made at the

Crystal River site where they are most numerous. These vessels may have been made in the Florida panhandle where Yent and Green Point ceremonialism can also be found. While most writers (i.e., Sears 1962a) point to Hopewellian cultures to the north and west as the source of the Yent and Green Point complexes, McMichael (1964) suggests that there is contact with Mesoamerica, specifically Veracruz. McMichael's (1964) model intimates that the traits of the Crystal River Complex, as well as those of Hopewellian cultures further north, originated in the "Temple Formative" cultures of Veracruz. The flaw in this model is apparent in the extralocal nature of the Yent Complex traits themselves, in that they are not merely locally made copies of Mesoamerican forms, but are primarily derived from further west or are unusual one-of-a-kind objects. Brose (1979:141) has recently criticized Sears' original concept, suggesting that the Crystal River, Yent, Green Point, and Kolomoki complexes "represent a polythetic set of materials and interrelated cultural patterns," with few ties to Hopewell and few Hopewell-derived materials. The basis of Brose's (1979) argument is the lack of similarity between the Hopewellian mortuary pattern and that of the above mentioned complexes, as well as the limited amount of Hopewellian materials in any given site. This chapter, and those that follow, will correct this misconception. Brose also draws this argument from the similarity of Yent, Green Point, and

Weeden Island artifacts and ceremonial patterns. While Brose's arguments have some validity, Sears' concept of Yent and Green Point as ceremonial overlays seems appropriate, especially in a study of art history, and will be retained here. It is also important to recognize a primary distinction between the earlier, Hopewellian art of Yent, Green Point and Crystal River, and the locally developed Weeden Island tradition.

Hopewellian Ceramics in Florida

As noted above, the ceramics of the Yent and Green Point complexes are a diverse array of local and non-local forms. Some idea of the variation in vessel shape can be found in the illustrations following this chapter. The micaceous paste of many of these vessels attests to their transport prior to interment. Vessel shapes and overall morphological characteristics, including scalloped lips, narrow or collared necks on globular vessels, cylindrical or squared beakers and small tetrapodal bases, ally these ceramics with those of Hopewellian cultures of Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, as well as the Ohio Valley (Setzler 1933; Wimberly 1960). Sears (1962a) mentions that many vessels, especially of the earlier Yent Complex, are unique and unusual in shape.

Decorative techniques include dentate-stamping, incising, deep excising or champlévé, punctations as zone fill, applique, zoned-red painting, and negative or resist

painting. These techniques are often combined in execution of the overall vessel decoration. Design elements include arcs, circles, loops, pendent-loops, as well as more complicated aspects involved in zoomorphic themes. Rectilinear forms, including nested rectangles and the swastika, as well as curvilinear forms are illustrated in Figure 2-2. Broad flowing lines characterize most incised decoration, especially in the Santa Rosa series. The Crystal River series is typified by an emphasis on smaller design elements and their interrelation. The distinctive line with terminals, so characteristic of Weeden Island decoration, is occasionally present as a Yent and Green Point design element.

Vessels with negative-painted designs have been identified as a unique and rare element of the Crystal River Complex (Sears 1962a assigned Crystal River to the earlier Yent Complex, though some authors have argued for the separate classification of this southern manifestation). Figure 2-3 illustrates examples of this type, with painted rectilinear and curvilinear designs. Willey and Phillips (1944) originally reported on the occurrence of this type at Crystal River, discussing two examples found by Moore (1903b). Only six specimens are known, all classified as Crystal River Negative-Painted (Willey 1948a, 1949a). Negative-painting, which involves painting a design in wax, and then applying a black or dark grey pigment, so that when

the wax is removed the original painted design appears light against a dark background, is commonly associated with Central and Middle American art. Willey and Phillips (1944:175) indicate that negative-painted pottery is also found in the Ohio Valley, Tennessee-Cumberland area, and several other portions of the Southeast, but would appear to be earliest in Florida and Hopewellian-related styles (Willey 1948a). It is interesting to note that Mississippian textile fragments have been found with negative-painted designs, and it is possible that this technique was transferred from non-ceramic to ceramic decoration (Willey and Phillips 1944:182-183).

Vessels painted with zoned-red geometric figures have a wider distribution than the negative-painted designs, and Willey (1949a:389-392) distinguishes two types. Some examples are illustrated in Figure 2-4, and another can be found in Figure 2-10d. This type is similar to incised vessels of the Crystal River series, with the distinction being red or crimson paint applied to geometric or naturalistic incised patterns.

Distinctive paddle-stamped vessels, called Swift Creek Complicated Stamped (Kelly 1938; Willey 1949a:378-383), are also characteristic of the Yent and Green Point art styles. Like the incised and painted vessels just described, this complicated stamping represents an intrusive element in Florida, though it persists for some time and becomes

incorporated into the more locally derived Weeden Island tradition. Unlike the flamboyant relationship found between surface decoration and vessel form in other Yent and Green Point pots, overall morphology is more limited. Scalloped lips, a common element of these styles, are often evidenced on stamped vessels. Like some earlier stamping traditions, Yent and Green Point complex stamped designs were produced with a carved wooden paddle, applied while the clay is beginning to dry. Cosmic symbols, cosmic symbol and eye, as well as other curvilinear forms are known. Rectilinear motifs also occur. Recent work at the Block-Sterns site near Tallahassee has produced additional motifs, including cross-in-circle, zoomorphic and cross-and-eye motifs, indicating the rich and untapped iconographic aspects of Swift Creek Complicated Stamped and related stamped types (Tesar and Jones 1995).

Broken Vessels, Ritual Pavements, and Pottery Caches

Sears (1958:276) discusses three major types of burial mounds present in Florida and adjacent areas. Among these types is the patterned burial mound with east side pottery deposits. Sears (1958:276) suggests that these mounds, which occur in Hopewellian and Weeden Island cultures (and possibly in Safety Harbor), reflect burials of prominent leaders and their retinues. Further analogies have been made by Sears (1954) between these patterned mounds, a focus on prominent leaders, and the mortuary ceremonialism of the

Natchez-Taensa. Continuous use type mounds are more common among the earlier Yent Hopewellian complex, but occur throughout the later part of the sequence, especially in peninsular Florida. These mounds have numerous burials placed over a period of time, some with vessels. Ceramic vessels and sherds occur in clusters. The Hope Mound, excavated by Wells Sawyer (Cushing 1897; Smith 1971:113-115), had an interesting "pavement" of broken ceramic vessels. Fairbanks (1965:58) counters Sears' hierarchial model of burial mound and pottery cache types by suggesting these mass deposits of "killed" pottery reflect rites designed to bring the spirits of the dead into a more salubrious relationship with the living. This is important in understanding the use of these types of vessels, as well as realizing that breakage patterns were not accidental, but were planned elements in the life of the ritual vessels.

Evidence from ethnohistoric and historic sources indicate the use of medicines in many of the ceremonies of the Florida and Southeastern Natives (Dickinson in Andrews and Andrews 1945:59-61; Le Moyne in Hulton 1977:148, Pl. 121; Hudson 1984:19-21). Some shell engravings from Spiro, Oklahoma, illustrate the brewing of such medicines (Phillips and Brown 1984:Pl. 126-127). Often this was the purifying ritual of the black drink. It is possible that some of the broken vessels interred with individuals, in pavements, or

in east side mound caches, were used in purification or similar rituals prior to their interment.

The ritual "killing" of ceramics and other objects included in burial mounds may also be subject to principles of shamanism and magical death. If this is so, the renewal and purification aspects of mound construction and ceremonial deposition make sense. The pottery, often ceramic effigies, are "killed" in anticipation of their rebirth, much as the human bones defleshed and deposited in the same mounds. Luer (1993:245-246) comments on the intentional mutilation of Safety Harbor vessels, noting that effigy elements are often removed or "freed" from their parent vessels. This may reflect beliefs about the animation of effigy forms, which would support the above assertions.

Iconographic Elements

Several distinct iconographic elements can be identified in the ceramics of Yent and Green Point. These include the designs most commonly ascribed to a Mesoamerican source, though the Hopewellian cultures outside of Florida seem a more likely derivation. The basic complex of bird, mammal, serpent, and human forms are in evidence here, and provide an iconographic basis for the subsequent Weeden Island and Glades tradition styles, and as Willey (1948b) notes, perhaps prefigure the "Southern Cult" of the Mississippian era.

Birds. Avian imagery becomes the focal point of the subsequent Weeden Island and Glades tradition styles, so it is not surprising to find a great diversity of species depicted in several distinct ways in Yent and Green Point. These range from very obvious portrayals of birds, either incised or modeled on ceramics, to abstract forms. A unifying feature is an association of naturalistic birds with more abstracted imagery, probably intended to represent wings, tails and other features of the avian body. This is most evident in the relationship of the applique duck or spoonbill adorno and the decorated bands bearing intricate loop, scroll and spiral motifs, as well as the line-with-terminals motif (see Figure 2-5a).

The avian form is found in greater abstraction in the globular bowl from Aspalaga (8GD1) that bears five deeply engraved designs (Figure 2-6a). These designs probably represent the wings, tail and body of one or more birds, with the groups of finely incised parallel lines depicting feathers. Two additional vessels, one from Tucker (8FR4) and the other from Hall (8WA4), are both representative of the abstract bird, with head, wings, body and tail integrated into a series of complex rectilinear and curvilinear forms (Figure 2-6c). A vessel from Basin Bayou (8WL14) exhibits a motif commonly found on Weeden Island bird effigies (Figure 2-6b). Four figures are represented, with a version of the line-with-terminals motif, as well as

the distinctive shell-stamping of the type called Alligator Bayou Stamped. One figure exhibits four lobes with a wedge-shaped projection--this is modified in later styles, but clearly is designed to represent a bird's tail plumage.

Two other vessels bear designs that combine the type of abstraction just discussed with a more stylized naturalism (Figure 2-7). In this case a central circular figure forms the body or breast of the bird, with tail and wings extending to the sides. Additional figures to the side represent the head. In most of the examples of Yent and Green Point avian imagery it is easy to find this dismemberment of the bird's body, a trait that continues into Weeden Island styles. The use of scrolls and other curvilinear figures to represent these body parts also continues in subsequent styles, with vessel form modeling accentuating the associations.

Serpents. Serpent or rattlesnake designs are exceedingly rare in Yent and Green Point ceramics, and the one example recorded here may only loosely be associated with reptilian imagery. The Pierce Zoned-Red vessel illustrated in Figure 2-4a may represent the body of a rattlesnake, specifically the diamond pattern found on the serpent's body. The alternating coloration of the vessel's incised lines may act to replicate the pigmentation of the rattlesnake.

Unidentified animals. Many of the abstract designs found on Yent and Green Point ceramics may represent other zoöomorphic forms. Several of these unidentified animal motifs are illustrated in Figures 2-8 and 2-9. Three of these forms share several characteristics and may represent animal faces (Figure 2-9a-c). The upper portion of the face is defined by a pair of scrolls that enclose circular eyes. A nose or muzzle is formed as these scrolls meet and extend downward. Triangles pendent to this muzzle are seen in two of the designs. Cross-hatching, punctations, and shell-stamping are used to accentuate the background or part of the design in the three pieces, respectively. Overall execution and style of these unidentified animal images most closely corresponds with the intricate and deeply engraved bone tubes of Ohio Hopewell (Willoughby 1935). These often depict composite beings, or rabbits, bears, birds, and humans (see Figure 4-14 for comparison). Greber and Ruhl (1989:277) suggest that imagery like that described here, and previously identified as a composite rabbit-human design, actually represents deer or deer-human designs. Comparison with the deer effigies illustrated in Figure 2-16 indicates this may be the case, as the scroll or figure-eight motif of the ceramic vessels matches that used in the eye of the artifacts in Figure 2-16a-b, and the pendent-triangle motif is also shared by both effigy forms. The "Harness Head" from Liberty Township, Ohio, is a portion of

a carved stone pipe with a face closely resembling the style of the incising on the vessels described here (Coe 1977:62).

Human hands. Human hands are depicted on several vessels and large vessel fragments. A particularly striking example is found on a small cylindrical beaker of Crystal River Zoned-Red (Figure 2-10d). The overall design is composed of two hands with fingers pointing toward a central figure. The central figure may be avian, considering the similarity of arrangement to the birds shown in Figure 2-8. Broad spirals are evident on the back of each hand, as are fingernails. Several smaller loop figures are pendent to the vessel lip. Parts of the incised decoration are filled with random punctations. Another vessel with a more abstract hand and spiral decoration is from Safford (8PI3). In this specimen punctations or stamping define the background (Figure 2-10b). Fingernails are not in evidence, but the "fingers" of the hands seem to hold or cradle the small globular vessel. Perhaps the best known iconographic elements of the Yent complex are found on two large sherds recovered by Moore at Crystal River (1903b, 1907a). Though recovered on different explorations, these are thought to be from the same vessel (Figure 2-10a, c). Both depict hands, with fingernails clearly shown. The first sherd shows a hand supporting or pointing toward a bird within a cosmic symbol. This is similar to the hands pointing toward a bird discussed above. The first sherd does not retain the design

with the back of the hand, but the second shows one figure on the back of the hand and another on the wrist. This second sherd is unusual in its three-quarters depiction of the right hand with defined knuckles. The figure depicted on the back of the hand is presumed to be a prototype for the hand-and-eye motif of the "Southern Cult," though it may be related to some zoomorphic symbolism, perhaps avian or serpent (Willey 1948b). Note the distinctive line-with-terminals motif, used often on the bodies of living creatures. The overall outline of this figure bears some resemblance to rattlesnake imagery known in bone carving of the Ohio Hopewell (Baby 1961). Human imagery apart from the hand motif just discussed is also found in numerous figurines of the Yent and Green Point complexes, though human hand and the human form in general are elements of the Hopewellian horizon that are not reincorporated in later Glades arts.

Human Figurines

Sears (1962a) did not include ceramic human figurines in his compilation of Yent and Green Point characteristics. A number of these objects have been described and illustrated for Florida and adjoining states (Lazarus 1960; Walthall 1975; Phelps 1969). McMichael (1964) includes these figurines in his definition of the Crystal River Complex. These figurines are clearly related in technique and style to Copena (the Hopewellian expression of the Mid-

South), Marksville, and Ohio Hopewell effigies (Willoughby 1922:71-74; McKern et al. 1945; Ford and Willey 1940:119; Kellar et al. 1962:342; Converse 1993; Griffin et al. 1970:Pls. 79-88). Both Phelps (1969) and Walthall (1975) have pointed to the Hopewellian context of these figurines in Florida. I can only imagine that the village context of many of these figurines caused Sears to eliminate them from his definitions of Yent and Green Point. It should be noted that some figurines, like the example from Block-Sterns (see Figure 2-12), were recovered from burial mounds (Louis Tesar, personal communication 1995). Some of the figurines of this era appear to be kneeling females, bare-breasted and wearing a high skirt with distinctive waistband, a feature noted for the Ohio and Illinois Hopewell effigies as well (Figure 2-11c and 2-12). One torso fragment illustrated by Lazarus (1960:64) is wearing a "G-string with front apron," and may depict a pregnant woman (Figure 2-11h). Other poses are also noted, and some male effigies occur (Figure 2-11a, d). Lazarus (1960:61-63) reports on a small male ceramic figurine from the Buck Mound which included two holes near the shoulders, perhaps for suspension (Figure 2-11i). Typically the figurines have distinctive elements of dress and hairstyle, suggesting an attempt at individual portraiture. Perhaps the most striking example of this type is from the Block-Sterns site near Tallahassee (Figure 2-12). This piece is in the traditional kneeling position,

and depicts a woman with a distinctive hair style. Like examples from the Knight mound group in southern Illinois, the Block-Sterns figurine is painted (Griffin et al. 1970:74-76). The addition of human imagery to the realm of artistic themes is an important one that will become accentuated in some of the subsequent styles. Unlike the larger human effigies of the Weeden Island style, these figurines are solid or slab type constructions, though several parts may be conjoined. An additional contrast is that the Hopewellian figurines appear to be "alive," or at least were intended to depict a living person, as some effigies are actively engaged in specific endeavors (i.e., dance, carrying children), unlike the stoic, close-eyed, Weeden Island forms.

Other Arts

As with the pottery discussed above, non-ceramic objects of local and extralocal materials characterize the Yent and Green Point complexes (exotic materials are more common in the earlier Yent complex).

Copper Objects

Copper artifacts, other than ear spools, are most commonly associated with the Crystal River site and Yent complex. Some of these objects are illustrated in Sears (1962a) and Moore (1903b, 1907a), and reproduced here in Figure 2-13. Three pairs of copper ear spools recovered from Crystal River are clearly Hopewellian in style. One

among these is silver-plated (Figure 2-13a), a characteristic of some Ohio Valley specimens (Willoughby 1917). Another is a composite animal form (Figure 2-13b), perhaps a bear, with facial designs and claw emblems (cf. Willoughby 1917:Pl. 6).

Moore (1907a) also found a repoussé copper rectangle and the remains of what may be copper panpipes. An elongated copper plummet from Safford (8PI3) is another distinctive Hopewellian item, and Moore (1903b, 1907a) recovered an extensive collection of these at Crystal River. Sears (1962a) included these elongated copper plummets as attributes of the Yent and Green Point complexes.

Two copper tablet-like ornaments from Hope Mound (8PA12), another site excavated by Cushing and Sawyer in 1896, deserve special mention (see Figure 9-1c). Both objects are bipartite and had been fastened with copper ties. One of the two shows traces of repoussé. Smith (1971:130-131) suggests these may be related to ceremonial tablets of later styles (see Chapter 7 and 8).

Shell Pendants

Shell pendants, most likely made locally, include some distinctive forms. A shell ornament, cut from the outer whorl of the *Busycon* is illustrated in Figure 2-13e. Numerous examples of this tenoned form are known from Crystal River, many with incised concentric circles, a central perforation, and a tenon for attachment. Additional

ornaments of shell from Yent and Green Point contexts are also shown in this figure, perhaps the most notable being an imitation tooth of shell, as well as a fish effigy gorget (Figure 2-13c-d). Fish gorgets of shell, as well as fish representations in other material are rare in Florida sites, but are found occasionally (Ashley 1995:25; see Chapters 4 and 5).

Stone Plummets

Plummets of exotic stone are numerous in mounds with Yent and Green Point manifestations (Bullen et al. 1970:115-116). Several of the finest examples are from the Hope and Safford mounds, and are illustrated in Figure 2-14. Perhaps the polished rock-crystal plummet from Safford is among the most striking imported object of this complex (Bullen et al. 1970). Plummet-form objects are a distinctive attribute of Florida material culture. They range in material and quality. Some have suggested they were used in fishing (Walker 1989), while others have pointed to plummets as decorative items (Reiger 1990). The diversity of forms suggests a continuum of uses may exist in Florida, as in other places. All objects discussed here were probably decorative or ornamental, as demonstrated by form and provenance. The examples illustrated here link their respective sites with the gift or exchange network associated with the Hopewell culture. Materials used

include banded slate, rhyolite, diorite, porphyry, copper, polished rock-crystal, and galena.

Effigy Plummets

Effigy style plummets are another distinctive element of Hopewellian art in Florida, though these objects have received little attention. Like the plummets of imported stone discussed above, effigy plummets are often of exotic materials, including igneous and metamorphic stone, as well as one example in galena. Some effigy plummets are carved of limestone and fossil bone. Geographically, effigy plummets are most numerous along the lower Gulf Coast, though examples are known from the St. Johns River and Lake Okeechobee areas. Detailed provenances are lacking for most specimens, though there are indications that these are from Hopewellian-related sites. Bullen (1952), in his discussion of the Jones (8HI4) plummets, attributes the site assemblage to the Weeden Island culture, primarily based on a surface collection at the FLMNH. Bullen's (1952) attribution is questionable, however, since no ceramic marker types were recovered with the burials or among the other grave goods. Stylistically, the effigy plummets, which primarily depict avian forms, are closely allied to stone pipe and plummet carvings of Adena and Hopewell (Setzler 1960; Willoughby 1917; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:442; Griffin et al. 1970:Pl. 101).

Effigy plummets depict a variety of bird life, usually just the head of the bird, though rare examples depict the body, wings, feet and tail feathers. Figure 2-15 illustrates a variety of effigy plummets. Of the thirty-two examples of effigy plummets cataloged for this study, only one mammal was identified, namely a young, male deer from Jones. Many of the plummets depict birds with broad spatulate bills (see Figure 2-17). This form may have intended a spoonbill or shoveler duck. The spoonbill is a tropical bird that winters and breeds in Florida, though individuals occasionally range into the Midwest and Plains (Allen 1942). Parmalee and Perino (1970) report the skeletal remains of a roseate spoonbill from a Midwestern Hopewell mound. Interestingly, the headless body of the bird was accorded burial as were the humans interred in the mound (Parmalee and Perino 1970:256). Artistic evidence from the Hopewell site indicates that the spoonbill was an element of Hopewellian symbol and art systems (Greber and Ruhl 1989:212-215; Hall 1989:261-264; cf. Figures 2-19 and 2-20h; Parmalee and Perino 1970:256-257). Other avifauna portrayed include turkey, vulture, duck, hawk, and eagle. Two examples (see Figure 2-15h-i), one from Reedy Creek (Bullen 1972) and another from Jones (Bullen 1952) depict what may be the now extinct Carolina parakeet (*Conuropsis carolinensis*). Parrot and parakeet-like birds occasionally appear in Hopewell carving (Henshaw 1883:139-141). McKinley

(1977:19, 23-25) and Parmalee (1958:174, 1967:158) report zooarchaeological remains of these birds in midwestern sites. Apparently, like the roseate spoonbill, the parakeet wandered well outside its home range, with examples known from the west, midwest, and northeast (McKinley 1985:1-3). The spatulate-billed birds, and most of the other birds depicted in the effigy plummets, have corollaries in Hopewell sculpture.

The exotic materials used in carving the effigy plummets indicate that these are imported objects. This is supported by stylistic affinities with Ohio Hopewell art. Some of the effigies are made of shell (Figure 2-17g), fossil bone (Figure 2-15d) and limestone or marl (Figure 2-15b), suggesting that at least some examples were local copies of the imported items. Simpson (1939:60,62) suggests that the Jones plummets were carved by local artists from imported raw materials. The reason for Simpson's conclusion is unclear, since exotic stone debitage is not reported from the burial mound.

As noted above, most effigy plummets cataloged here lack detailed provenances. One exception is the collection of twelve effigy plummets from Jones (Figures 2-15g, h, l, o, q, 2-16a, and 2-17c-f, h-i). Excavated under the direction of J. Clarence Simpson and funded by the state and federal emergency relief programs, Jones yielded 179 human burials, and a collection of associated grave goods. The

current location of the Jones plummets is unknown, but the illustrations here were made from published and unpublished photographs, and casts of several of the specimens. Animals depicted include three spatulate-billed birds, one parakeet, four ducks, one hawk, two unidentified birds, and one young male deer. The spatulate-billed birds are rather stylized examples, distinct from the Fort Center (8GL13) and Turkey Creek (8BR50) specimens, with features primarily sculpted and not incised. Bullen (1952) notes an interesting pattern of associations for the plummets, indicating that female burials tended to be accompanied by one or more of the duck head plummets. The deer head plummet (Figure 2-16a) is not closely associated with any burial, but may have accompanied interment 146, the burial of an adult female, associated with a duckbill pendant, several other plummets and shell beads (Bullen 1952:53-54).

The young male deer effigy from Jones, mentioned above, is interesting for several reasons (Figure 2-16a). It represents the only effigy plummet to depict a mammal. Comparison is made with an Ohio Hopewell effigy boatstone, rendered in virtually the same style--ears pinned back, large eye with radiant lashes, and detailed muzzle (see Figure 2-16c). The choice of mammal is of particular interest, since the young male deer appears in not only Hopewell art, but also in Weeden Island ceramics (see Knight in Milanich 1984), and the bone carvings of the early Glades

tradition, as well as at Key Marco (see Wheeler 1992a; and Chapters 4, 5, and 6). The other artifact that this specimen can be compared to is the bone carving from Onion Key (see Figure 2-16b), again a deer with similar stylistic and design features.

A galena vulture effigy from Queen Mound (8DU110) is an unique example within this class of plummets (Figure 2-15f). Some other effigy plummets are also known from the St. Johns River area, but the Queen specimen is the only known example in lead. LaFond (1972) originally suspected that this piece may have been manufactured from Spanish lead, but chemical analysis, as well as more recent studies of the site, indicate it is Hopewellian (LaFond 1972; LaFond and Ashley 1995). This specimen is clearly a representation of a vulture, complete with the wrinkled skin on the back of its head. Vulture effigy pipes are known in Ohio Hopewell art, and galena is an exchange item associated with the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Seeman 1979b), and has been recovered at other Florida Hopewell sites.

Two effigy plummets that depict another distinct avian species include two fine examples, one from Fort Center and another from Turkey Creek (Sears 1982:Fig. 6.1p; Schwehm 1983:66-68; Moore 1898:189; Rouse 1951:Pl. 4u). Possibly a duck of some kind, these two specimens are distinguished by their low crests (see Figure 2-17a-b). A likely candidate, as indicated by features of the bill, eye and crest, may be

the cormorant, a winter visitor to Florida. A third plummet, also from Turkey Creek, also depicts a crested bird, though in a slightly different style (Figure 2-15a).

Three effigy plummets in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum require special mention because of the quality and sensitivity of the carving. Exact provenance is lacking, though they are attributed to Florida (Brose et al. 1985:86, 207), and probably came from the same site. Birds depicted include turkey, eagle, and crested bird (again probably a cormorant), all portrayals typical of effigy plummets.

While most of the plummets realistically portray the heads of birds, a collection made by Moore (1907b) forms an interesting subset. Two examples collected from Marco (8CR48) depict the stylized details of a bird's bill, leaving out the eye and other aspects of the head (Figure 2-15j, m). One example is of fine-grained limestone, while the other is identified as exotic igneous stone, suggesting that these may have been imported like most other effigy plummets discussed here.

Another class of stone ornament from southern Florida, which may be associated with the effigy plummets of the incipient and early Glades tradition, are the stone ceremonial tablets (Figure 2-18). These are reported on by Griffin (1988:100-101,110), Carr (1982) and Allerton et al. (1984), and range from southwestern Florida into the Florida keys. Cushing (1897) recovered one example from 8CR45,

though this piece has often been attributed to the Key Marco site (see Allerton et al. 1984). Like the effigy plummets, these stone tablets are of exotic stone, as well as local limestones. Goggin (n.d.:549), following Cushing (1897), described these tablets as "alligator effigy plummets," though an overall abstract zoöomorphic form allies them more closely with the ceremonial tablets known in contact era metals. Features shared by stone tablets, metal tablets and some effigy plummets include the spatulate lower half or bill, the eye-like projections or incisions, and the medial line. Allerton et al. (1984:12-14, 18) have already remarked on the possible relationship of the metal ceremonial tablets and the duck or spoonbill effigy plummets, with one hypothesis suggesting that the ceremonial tablets are, in fact, duck or avifaunal images like those described above. In this case, the lower portion of the tablet would form the head and bill of the duck, while the tenoned portion would be the body and wings. Interestingly, Greber and Ruhl (1989:281) have commented that a major feature of Hopewell art is the juxtaposition of realistic and abstract versions of the same animals. This has been commented on in Chapter 2, under the discussion of animal representations in Florida Hopewell ceramics.

Effigy plummets represent Hopewellian imagery imported into southern and eastern Florida. Some of these forms were copied in local materials, while many originated outside the

area. The bone and antler carvings of animals described in Chapter 4 are probably a stylistic and symbolic outgrowth of the plummets--they replicate the subject matter, form in some cases, and have approximately the same geographic distribution.

Hopewellian Symbolism

The art styles of Yent, Green Point, Fort Center and the "osseous bestiary" would seem to encompass wildly divergent images, ranging from the abstract or stylized zoomorphic designs found on Santa Rosa and Crystal River series pottery, to the graceful realism of the early Okeechobee basin wood carvings. Somewhere in the balance are the human figurines; bird head plummets; and copper and exotic stone items. The dichotomy between abstraction and realism, however, also characterizes the art of Ohio Hopewell. Ornamentation of ceramic vessels and carved bone exhibit the abstract and complicated incised zoomorphic forms seen in the Florida ceramics as well (Figure 2-19 illustrates examples of Marksville Hopewell ceramics from Louisiana, Figure 2-20 illustrates bone carving and wood-copper deer antler headdresses of Ohio Hopewell). Copper work and mica cut-outs of the Ohio area also exhibit elements of these abstract zoomorphic forms. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the delicate animal sculptures of Hopewellian stone platform pipes (Figure 2-21). These animals exhibit much of the same realism found

in the Fort Center wood carvings, with the animals often depicted in a pose typifying the intended animal species. Of course the scale of the Fort Center carvings exhibits some geographic and symbolic distance, though a mortuary context for all of the items discussed above unites the Hopewellian art styles of Florida and elsewhere.

Regarding the animals depicted, the Florida and Ohio cadres compare well. A diverse array of avian imagery is present in both areas, including several types of ducks, the roseate spoonbill, owls, large and small wading birds, eagles and raptors (Henshaw 1883). These forms are most clearly identified in the realistic carvings of Adena tube pipes, Ohio platform pipes and Fort Center wooden effigies. The bone carving and ceramic ornaments are more abstract and less easily ascribed to specific species, though birds are certainly popular subject matter. Mammals depicted also show correspondence between Florida and Hopewellian centers. The fox, otter, and cat appear in Hopewell pipes, often posed like their counterparts at Fort Center. This includes the "fishing otter" who bears its prey in its mouth. The more enigmatic Hopewell bone carvings certainly resemble some of the unidentified animal depictions found on Yent and Green Point ceramics, and these may well be the bear and rabbit that Willoughby (1917) identified. It seems clear that this pattern of iconography existed in an incipient stage in Adena art, where the shoveler duck, spoonbill,

human, and composite animal exist in block-end pipes and fabric-stamps. In fact, the Adena tablets or fabric-stamps already exhibit the wildly abstract avian and mammal imagery found in Yent, Green Point and non-Florida Hopewell styles (Penney 1980).

Other correspondences in symbolism include the wooden antler carvings from Fort Center, the bear emblem from Crystal River, the human hand motif, as well as the numerous ceramic figurines found in Yent, Green Point and non-Florida Hopewellian contexts. While the relationship of style and content is clearly demonstrable, the meaning of Yent and Green Point symbolism remains cloudy. Normally a transference of imagery through time and space leaves the question of meanings in even greater peril, but in this case the art of Weeden Island makes it clear that the Hopewellian imagery was understood, and moreover, accepted. The preeminence of avian imagery continues in Weeden Island styles, only elaborated and somewhat more recognizable. Mammal images also persist, apparently necessary, but definitely secondary to avian forms. Human images undergo a significant transition, but continue to be produced. A special case may exist with some types of imagery, for example antlers already enjoyed a certain status as an artistic medium, so it is not surprising to find them in Yent, Green Point and subsequent styles.

Overall, a basic iconographic pattern of avian imagery is evident in the Hopewellian-influenced art of Florida. This largely supplants the geometric and serpent styles of earlier eras. Birds and other zoomorphic figures are related directly to mortuary ceremonialism. Despite the similarity in style and content, a drift or distancing effect is evident when comparing Florida Hopewellian manifestations to those of more western and northerly states. Inclusion of high status goods and animal images in burials is shared, though overall burial patterns differ. This includes the unusual mortuary pond of Fort Center and its large wooden animal effigies. The basic pattern of zoomorphic imagery established during Hopewellian times provides the basis for the subsequent Weeden Island styles, as well as Weeden Island related styles of eastern and southern Florida.

Incipient Glades Tradition

The incipient phase includes those ceremonial or decorative objects imported from external Hopewellian centers, or directly derived from Hopewell style arts. This includes the ceramics and associated artifacts of the Yent, Green Point and Crystal River complexes--essentially "Florida Hopewell." Geographically these complexes appear along the central and northern Gulf Coast, as well as in the St. Johns River area. The documentation of duckbill and

related plummets demonstrates a Hopewell manifestation well into the area of southern Florida.

Iconography of the incipient phase is that shared by Hopewellian manifestations found elsewhere. An emphasis on avian imagery is strong, and provides a basis for much of the bird symbolism found in later expressions of the Glades and Weeden Island traditions, especially the spoonbill or shoveler duck form. Other naturalistic forms also appear, including those of the deer and human. These common forms and images suggest shared patterns of ritual and artistic organization at levels deeper than the outward manifestation of mound construction, mortuary ceremonialism, and personal adornment.

Stylistically the artifacts of the incipient phase are quite diverse. Images on ceramics are highly abstracted. Vessel forms include many unique shapes, and the relationship between applied design and vessel shape is rather loose. The use of punctations and zone-fill techniques provides a substrate for decorative traditions of the later Glades tradition and Weeden Island. Contrary to the abstract designs found on ceramics, the bird effigy plummets are realistic, and can often be identified to species. The realistic aspect of the incipient phase has a profound effect on later Glades tradition arts. The wood and bone carvings described in Chapters 3 and 4 are clearly derived from the realistic bird imagery of the Hopewellian-

related incipient Glades tradition, and the ceremonial tablets have a prototype in the two examples from Hope Mound.

The "Florida Hopewell" arts described above provide a substrate upon which two major artistic traditions developed. The ceramics of Weeden Island, often portraying both realistic and naturalistic animals, follows closely the techniques, symbolism, and style engendered in Yent and Green Point ceramics. Essentially, Weeden Island potters develop the zoöomorphic themes of Hopewell pottery, resulting in a harmonious union of vessel form and surface decoration. On the other hand, artists of southern Florida graft Hopewellian symbolism and design onto traditional arts previously established in the Early and Middle Archaic. These are the arts of wood and bone carving. This merger produces several Hopewellian-inspired styles described in Chapters 3 and 4.



Figure 2-2. Florida Hopewell sites.

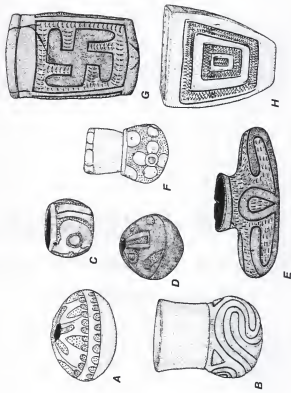


Figure 2-2. Rectilinear and curvilinear designs. a, c-d, Crystal River Incised; b, Basin Bayou Incised; f, Crystal River Zoned-Red; e, g, Alligator Bayou Stamped; a, Hall (8WA4) (after Moore 1902:289); b, Anderson's Bayou (8BY21) (after Moore 1902:162); c, Safford (8PI3), UM 29-124-139; d, Yent (8FR5) (after Moore 1902:273); e, 8LV2, SFM A6639; f, Pierce (8FR14) (after Moore 1902:226); g, 8DI53, FLNMH 103707; h, Anderson's Bayou (after Moore 1902:161). All to scale: b, 19.3 cm; h, 20 cm.

*a**b*

Figure 2-3. Crystal River Negative-Painted. a-b, Crystal River (8CI1) (from Moore 1903b:388, 391). To scale, two-thirds size.

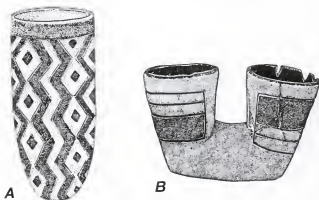
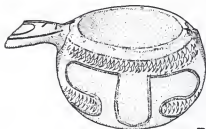


Figure 2-4. Pierce Zoned-Red vessels. a, Hall (8WA4) (after Moore 1902:300); b, Pierce (8FR14) (after Moore 1902:219). All to scale: a, 21.6 cm; b, 10.9 cm.



A



B

Figure 2-5. Naturalistic bird forms. a, Basin Bayou Incised, Basin Bayou, west (8WL13) (after Moore 1901:457); b, Alligator Bayou Stamped, Porter's Bar (8FR1) (after Moore 1902: 247). All to scale: a, 19.0 cm; b, 15.2 cm.

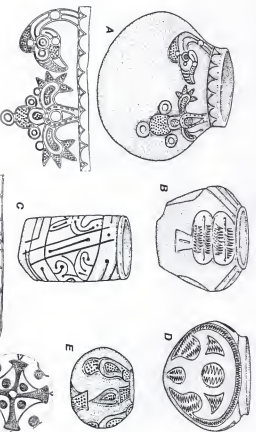


Figure 2-6. Abstract bird forms. a, e, Crystal River Incised; b, d, Alligator Bayou Stamped; c, Basin Bayou Incised; a, Aspalaga (8GDI) (after Moore 1903a:485); b, Basin Bayou, east (8WLI4) (after Moore 1918:534-535; c, Tucker (8PR4) (after Moore 1902:267); d, Alligator Bayou (8BY18) (after Moore 1902:151); e, Crystal River (8CII) (after Moore 1903b:386-387). All to scale: a, 22.9 cm; c, 17.8 cm.



Figure 2-7. Stylized bird forms. a, Basin Bayou Incised, Burnt Mill Creek, west (8BY17) (after Moore 1918:543-545); b, unclassified vessel with Crystal River, Weeden Island and Hopewellian elements, Hall (8WA4) (after Moore 1902:291). All to scale: a, 20.3 cm.



Figure 2-8. Basin Bayou Incised, Safford (8PI3), UM 29-124-148. Compare abstract animal imagery with Figures 2-9 and 2-20. Reproduced courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

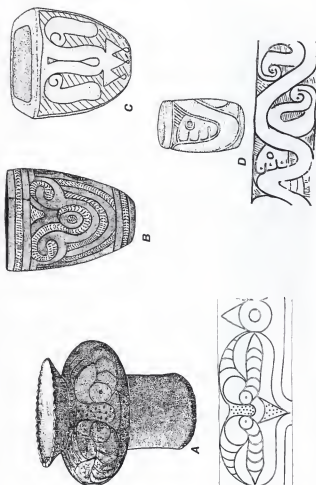


Figure 2-9. Unidentified animal forms. a, Crystal River Zoned-Red; b, Alligator Bayou Stamped; c-d, Basin Bayou Incised; a, Green Point (8FR11) (after Moore 1902:254-255); b, Safford (8PI3), UM 29-124-148; c, Strange's Landing (8BY26) (after Moore 1902:195-196); d, Refuge Tower (8WLL14) (after Moore 1918:534-535). All to scale: a, 24.4 cm; d, 13.3 cm.

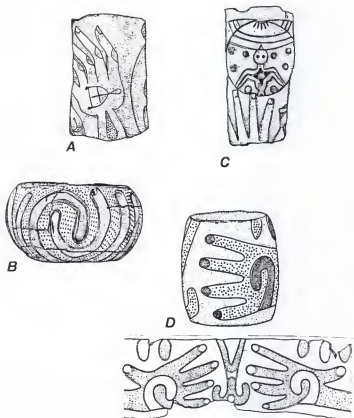


Figure 2-10. Human hands. a-c, Crystal River Incised, both thought to be from the same cylindrical vessel; d, Crystal River Zoned-Red; a, Crystal River (8CI1) (after Moore 1903b:384); b, Safford (8PI3), UM 29-124-139; c, Crystal River (after Moore 1907a:411); d, Tucker (8FR4) (Moore 1902:223). All to scale: a, 14.2 cm; b, 8.9 cm.

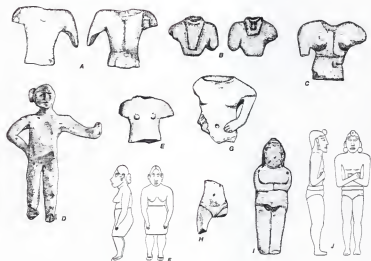


Figure 2-11. Human figurines. a, Tallapoosa, Alabama (after Cottier 1970:127); b, Mobile Bay, Alabama (after Walthall 1975:126); c, Refuge Tower (8WA14) (after Phelps 1969:22); d, Kauffman Island (8MR40) (after Goggin 1952:100); e, 8OK19, TMM 1321; f, Turner, Ohio (Willoughby 1922:Pl. 21); g, Tallant Collection, SFM 9276; h, Bell (8OK19), TMM 1167; i, Buck (8OK11) TMM 1157; j, Turner, Ohio (Willoughby 1922:Pl. 21). All to scale: a, 5.3 cm; i, 10.7 cm; except d, 25.4 cm and g, 11.4 cm, shown at half scale.

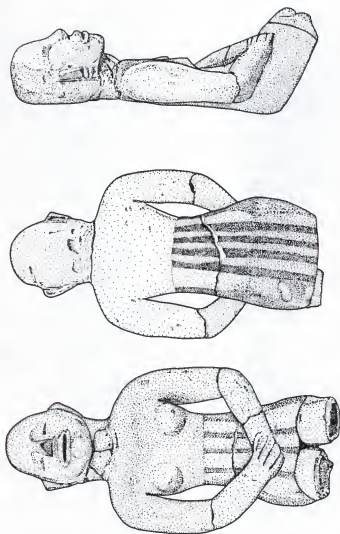


Figure 2-12. Hopewellian figurine, Block-Sterns (8LE148), PHAR 74-189-64, 11.0 cm.
 Red and white paint are applied over the buff slip. Vertical red stripes are painted
 on the figure's skirt and white paint is most obvious on the upper back.

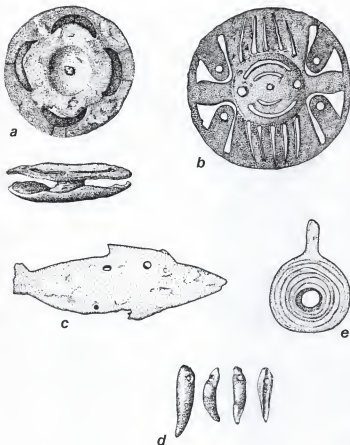


Figure 2-13. Copper and shell artifacts. a-b, e, Crystal River (8CI1); c-d, Yent (8FR5); a, silver-coated copper ear-spool (from Moore 1903b:409); b, copper ear-spool with bear claw and cosmic symbols (after Moore 1903b:409); c shell fish-effigy pendant (after Moore 1902:270); d, shell, porpoise tooth and bone pendants (from Moore 1907a:418); e, shell pendant (after Moore 1907a:418). All to scale: a, 7.4 cm; b, 9.4 cm; c, 12.4 cm.



Figure 2-14. Exotic stone plummets. All specimens from Safford (8PI3), UM. Reproduced courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.



Figure 2-15. Bird effigy plummets. a, n, Turkey Creek (8BR50) (after Rouse 1951:Pl.4); b, Marco (8CR48) (from Moore 1905c:310); c, Thomas (8HI1) (after Willey 1949a:122-123); d, fossil bone, 8CR45 (after Moore 1907b:461); e, Thomas (Moore 1900:359; after Willey 1949a:123); f, galena, Queen (8DU110) (after LaFond 1972); g-h, l, o, q, Jones (8HI4) (Bullen 1952:Fig. 15, redrawn from photos at FLMNH); i, Reedy Creek (after Bullen 1972); j, m, Marco (after Moore 1907b:459-460); k, Thomas (after Bullen 1952:Fig. 4); p, Bayshore Homes (8PI41) (after Sears 1960:Pl. 2a); r, Tavares (8LA52) (from Moore 1895:538). All to scale: a, 9.4 cm; b, 5.8 cm; d, 5.3 cm; e, 5.3 cm; f, 5.0 cm; g, 7.1 cm; h, 5.9 cm; j, 3.0 cm; k, 7.6 cm; l, 5.9 cm; m, 4.1 cm; n, 7.1 cm; o, 5.0 cm; p, 7.6 cm; q, 6.0 cm; r, 4.6 cm.

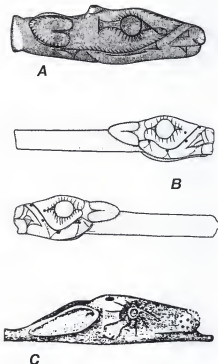


Figure 2-16. Deer effigies. a, deer effigy, stone plummet, Jones (8HI4) (redrawn from photos, FLMNH); b, deer effigy, bone pin, Onion Key (8MO49), SEAC-NPS 1824; c, deer effigy, boatstone, Ohio (from Willoughby 1917:Pl. 11). Not to scale: a, 9.7 cm; b, 4.9 cm; c, 9.7 cm.

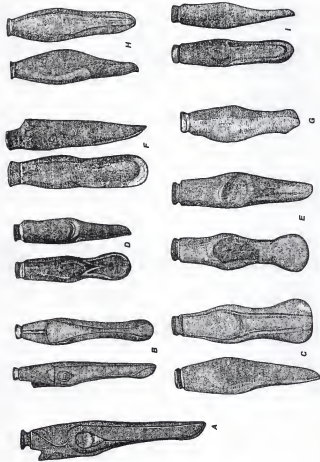


Figure 2-17. Duck or spoonbill effigy plummets. a, Turkey Creek (88850) (after Moore 1898:190; Rouse 1951:Pl. 4); b, Fort Center (after Sears 1982:Fig. 6.1p); c-f, h-i, Jones (8HI4) (Bullen 1952:Fig. 16; redrawn from photos on file at FLNHH); g, shell, 8MA6, Atwood Collection (redrawn from photos on file with George Luer). All to scale: a, 14.5 cm; b, 10.9 cm; c, 11.5 cm; d, 9.5 cm; e, 11.0 cm; f, 11.2 cm; g, 7.0 cm; h, 9.9 cm; i, 9.5 cm.

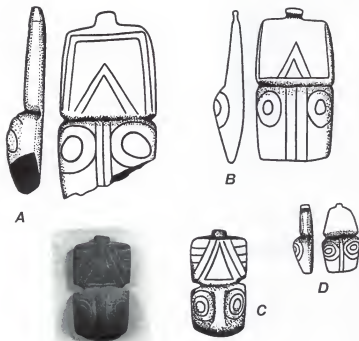


Figure 2-18. Stone ceremonial tablets. a, ST# 8, 8MO36; b, ST# 2, 8CR45; c, ST# 5, 8MO26; d, ST# 6, 8MO49 (from Allerton et al. 1984:44-45, reproduced with permission of G. Luer). Photo of ST# 5 from collection of FAU. All to scale.



Figure 2-19. Hopewellian ceramics. Marksville Stamped, Marksville Incised, and Crooks Stamped (adapted from Ford and Willey 1940:Figs. 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39). These Louisiana vessels closely parallel Yent and Green Point pottery. Note the incised avian (roseate spoonbill?) imagery.

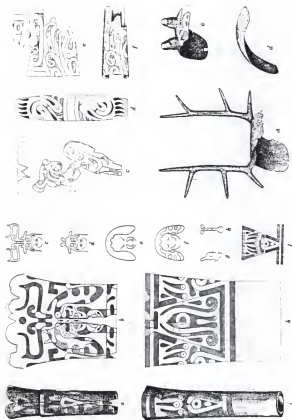


Figure 2-20. Animals and birds in Hopewell art. Engraved bone with deer, human, ocelot, and bear themes, as well as deer antler headress of copper and wood (from Willoughby 1917:pls. 4, 6, and 8).



Figure 2-21. Hopewell effigy pipes (from Squier and Davis 1848). Compare with the iconography and style of the Florida bone carvings in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3 FORT CENTER WOODEN EFFIGIES

A vast wet prairie along Fisheating Creek was the landscape on which an array of earthworks and mounds were built. During the time of participation in the Hopewellian exchange network a cadre of wooden animal carvings, mounted on posts, were erected in and around a mortuary pond. Ritual specialists lived on an adjoining mound, probably a site for processing bodies before placement in the charnel pond. Fort Center is the first evidence for Glades tradition corporate art, reinterpreted from Hopewellian zoomorphic imagery. The context of the wood animal carvings allows exploration of a complex net of human and animal relationships. Most obvious is the relationship between the animal carvings and the deceased interred in the pond. Other levels exist between the ritual specialists of Mound A, who may be the authors of the carvings, as well as secular persons who may visit the site and observed the pond carvings. The presence of smaller carvings (i.e., deer antlers, effigy bowls, running mammals) and the movable tenoned effigies indicates the pond area and surrounding mounds were the site of occasional rituals, perhaps paralleling those of Hopewellian mortuary specialists in other parts of the Midwest and Southeast.

Fort Center

Perhaps not coincidentally, Sears' research led him to extensive excavations at Fort Center, a mound and earthwork site along Fisheating Creek in Glades County (Sears 1982). One of the main components of the site is a multiple mound feature, enclosing earthwork and associated pond. This portion of the site produced artifacts suggesting some relationship to the Hopewellian cultures of the Gulf Coast, and perhaps those farther afield. The architecture of the Lake Okeechobee basin, and its relationship to other southeastern earthworks is the subject of another study, though comparative studies ranging from Squier and Davis (1848) to Morgan (1980) attest to the Hopewellian character of the Fort Center earthworks. Figure 3-1 illustrates a plan of the Fort Center site, as well as a detail of the Mound A-B and pond complex. The occupation of Fort Center at this time is termed "Period II," dating roughly from A.D. 200 to A.D. 600-800 (Sears 1982:186). Exotic goods from the Mound A and pond component include galena, quartz, and granite plummets, as well as a duck head effigy plummet of foreign stone (Figure 2-17b). Sears (1982:27-29) notes that much of the trade pottery associated with the habitation and use of Mounds A and B is related to the Yent complex. Among the fascinating aspects of Fort Center are the mortuary pond and the wooden animal carvings preserved in it. Sears (1982:38) describes the pond as "D-shaped," and suggests

that a mortuary platform that incorporated the wooden effigies was constructed over the water. Figure 3-1 includes Sears' concept of the mortuary platform, which is highly conjectural. It should be noted that the platform is also thought to have been "D-shaped," with the front or straight side facing east. The bundled remains of the deceased, prepared by the resident mortuary specialists of the mound, were placed out on the platform in lieu of burial. Sears (1982:167) claims that at some point the structure caught fire and collapsed; many of the bodies were recovered and interred in the mounds. The result was an archaeological wet-site composed of the jumbled remains of the unretrieved bodies, the fragments of the platform, the effigies, and some grave goods.

Wooden Effigies

The wooden effigies recovered from the Fort Center mortuary pond are discussed at some length by Sears (1982) and Schwehm (1983). Both authors note that some of the effigies were structural elements of the mortuary platform, and as such were exposed to the elements for some time. This exposure gave the figures a stylized, windswept appearance, and undoubtedly removed much of the detail originally evident. The shallow nature of the pond, approximately four feet, may have allowed some drying to occur, contributing to the fragility of the specimens. Traces of white pigment on one of the bird effigies

indicates that some painted decoration may have been used. All effigies were carved from pine, many of the forms make use of the natural twists or knots in the wood to accentuate the movement or morphology of the animals depicted. As many of the effigies were broken or fragmentary when recovered, Sears (1982) presents a series of artist's drawings, filling in missing parts to give the contemporary viewer some sense of what animals are depicted and what they may have looked like during their use.

Sears (1982) distinguishes three "styles," and two residual categories for miscellaneous carvings and utilitarian carvings. The former include "large beasts and birds," "two-legged style," and "tenoned birds" (Sears 1982: 42-52). Distinctions between these categories seems to be based on size, details of mounting, and the placement of effigies in the pond, rather than differences in the way the effigies are executed or the appearance of the animals portrayed. In the latter sense, all the Fort Center effigies are examples of the same style, probably executed by a group of artists working together.

Large Beasts and Birds

This category includes effigies of three large birds, a bear, and a cat (see Figure 3-2). Fragments of additional birds and animals were observed in the field and/or recovered, but have not been reconstructed, except in the artist's drawing of the platform (Figure 3-1 bottom). Sears

(1982:40,44) identifies the three large birds as turkeys. With the exception of one tenoned-eagle effigy, all of these large birds have wings uplifted toward the sky. At least two specimens are decorated with incised lines or arcs across the wings, perhaps representing feathers. In only one case is the head of a "turkey" effigy preserved (see Figure 3-2a). The shape of the head, as well as the downturned beak indicate it also could also be a vulture. In fact, in an earlier report, Sears (1971:328) identifies this bird head as that of a buzzard. Vultures often motion with their wings as they contend for a carcass, and perhaps it is this behavior being replicated by the Fort Center artisans. This vulture head carving preserves considerable detail, including a large, obvious eye. The wing decoration seems to support this identification, with the incised lines representing the long plumes of a vulture or caracara, rather than the numerous shorter feathers of a turkey. Sears (1982) indicates that these large birds lined the eastern or straight side of the platform, with as many as seven or eight different carvings. Sears (1982:42-43) says that on either end of this side of the platform were two other large figures, representing a bear or dog, and a cat (perhaps a panther due to its large size). The bodies of both are reconstructed based on the bear, which was more complete (Figure 3-2b). Both are sitting on their haunches, a position commonly observed in felines and canids.

The vulture is not included within the model of Hopewellian symbolism presented by Greber and Ruhl (1989), though this bird appears with some frequency in the sculpture of Hopewellian effigy pipes and plummetts, and again in Weeden Island ceramics as a rim adorno or derived effigy vessel (cf. Figures 3-15f and q, 4-17 top left, 6-4 and 6-10). Greber and Ruhl (1989:285), however, present four major categories of avian symbolism that appear in Hopewellian contexts, and the raptor (non-passeriforms) could be extended to include vultures and caracaras. The bear is a major element of Hopewellian symbolism, and appears in emblematic and realistic forms in Ohio and Florida sites.

Two-Legged Effigies

This category contains a more diverse array of species, in pairs, including owls (Figure 3-3a-b), eagles (Figures 3-3c, 3-4b), foxes (Figure 3-3d-e), dogs or bears (Figures 3-4a and 3-5a), cats (Figure 3-5b) (probably bobcats, ocelots or other smaller felines), an osprey (Figure 3-5c) and unidentified raptor. These specimens are distinguished from other effigies because "the front legs in the quadrupeds or the legs in the birds have been cut free of the body from shoulder to foot" (Sears 1982:45). The rear legs and/or tails are carved in relief, with rear legs tending to be underemphasized. All of these "two-legged" effigies are said to have formed structural elements of the rear portion

or western arc of the charnel platform. Sears (1982:45) and Schwehm (1983:31) indicate that there are nine restored "two-legged" effigies. To these I would add the osprey and raptor that Sears (1982:51) labels as unclassified (see Figure 3-5c). Locations for these specimens place them at the northern and western side of the pond. The eagle recovered from the pond during the 1920s, and subsequently used as the symbol of the Florida State Museum (FLMNH), should probably also be included with this style (see Anonymous 1933; Schwehm 1983:9; Purdy 1991:83).

Two notable features unite this apparently diverse array of mammals and birds. Most obviously is the predatory or carnivorous behavior of the animals depicted. Less conspicuous is the fact that all these animals are non-migratory, year-round residents of southern Florida. The permanent placement of the carvings on large poles helps reinforce this year-round residency on a metaphoric level. This places these carvings in juxtaposition to the migratory waterfowl depicted in the third major effigy style defined by Sears, namely the tenoned form.

Tenoned Effigies

Tenoned effigies only depict birds, including a pair of coots or gallinules that Sears (1982:54) identifies as ducks (Figure 3-5d), a pair of egrets or herons, a small hawk or kestrel (Figure 3-6), an eagle with uplifted wings, and what appears to be a small water bird with head tucked under its

wings. All of the effigies in this class are attached to large conical bases apparently designed to fit into logs or posts. This unusual feature may have facilitated their removal for use or storage elsewhere. Interestingly, the tenoned bird effigies were found clustered at the northern end of the pond, in an area where numerous child or juvenile burials were recovered.

Miscellaneous and Utilitarian Effigies

As I have reclassified two of Sears' miscellaneous effigies as members of the two-legged category, residual specimens include several bird heads and the head of a cat, all probably once part of two-legged or tenoned type effigies. Some of the heads are of wading birds like the stilt (Figure 3-7d), an avocet or oystercatcher (Figure 3-7b), two examples of the spoonbill (Figure 3-7f, h), a heron (Figure 3-7g), as present is an owl (Figure 3-7c) and several unidentified birds (Figure 3-7i). These were likely parts of full-figured effigies, as described above, and Sears (1982:52) indicates they all may have been tenoned effigies, presumably due to their size, composition, and position within the pond.

The fact that the tenoned effigies and fragmentary specimens thought to be from tenoned effigies are all birds is interesting and may help determine their significance, at least at a basic level. Unlike the large two-legged carvings, which depict mammals and raptorial birds affixed

to large posts, the tenoned effigies are primarily waterfowl, many of which are migratory. Some of the raptors represented in this tenoned style also may be migratory species (i.e., the hawk depicted in Figure 3-6 suggests in its size and posture *Circus cyaneus*, the Northern Harrier, which ranges into Florida and the Southeast during the winter). The fact that these carvings are portable may be a metaphor for the migratory nature of the birds depicted, or more literally related to the ceremonial movement of the carvings at a particular time of year in concert with the arrivals and/or departures of these birds.

Sears (1982:52,55) describes six carvings all found in the northern portion of the platform, the area associated with the child burials and larger tenoned carvings. Unlike the larger effigies, these are small figures. Two apparently are running otters, a third is a running cat or panther (see Figures 3-8a-b and 3-9). Two additional specimens are wooden representations of deer antlers. A final object is the tenoned head of a bird, dubbed "Woody Woodpecker" (see Figure 3-7a). One of the running otters is distinguished by a fish or other object held in its mouth, and a short handle projecting from one side. Another carving is a small boat-shaped bowl with owl head effigy at one end. Schwehm (1983:39-40) indicates that the running otters and feline may have been toys included with the burials of the children. Alternatively these may have been

devices used in shamanistic performances. Menomini shaman use similar effigy devices with handles or related mechanisms that give the illusion the actual animal is being held in a bag (examples on exhibit at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; also see Skinner 1913:116). Considering that the deer antler replicas are probably components of a Hopewellian shaman headdress and the tenoned effigies may have been moved into position during ceremonies, it may help argue that the other small carvings also are elements of ritual paraphernalia used and discarded on the edge of the pond.

Of this collection of smaller carvings the most interesting are the deer antler replicas carved of wood. These replica carvings are the only appearance of the deer in the Fort Center assemblage, aside from numerous antlers associated with food debris. As noted elsewhere in this study, deer antler headdresses made of wood and copper are a distinctive and primary feature of Hopewellian ritual organization. The bear, the animal most often associated with the deer in Hopewellian symbolism, is one of the most prominent effigies of the Fort Center assemblage (see Figure 3-2b). Interestingly, the bear appears as one of the largest stationary animal effigies, while the deer is present only as elements of an antlered headdress. Evidence from Hopewell, Weeden Island, and Key Marco suggests a special focus on the ritual specialist that wears the

antlered costume. The office of this individual appears to exist over a broad temporal and spatial area. Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984:180-181) has suggested the young male deer of Weeden Island ceramics was a metaphor for the young husband "adopted" into the matrilineal, matrilocal family. If this assertion is correct, it would explain the importance of the mature husband, signified by the fully mature male deer with a large antler rack. Fogelson (1971:329-330) outlines the changes that occur in the exogamous, matrilocal Cherokee society, where a young man gains importance within his wife's family as he grows older, and his wife's uncles take their own wives and move away. The social implications of this interpretation of the deer are confirmed in the absence of a full-figured carving at Fort Center, where we have suggested the carvings are related, at least at one level, to clan divisions.

Mortuary Pond

Sears (1982:168) provides a reconstruction of the mortuary pond (Figure 3-1 bottom), and Schwehm (1983:41) provides several alternative schemes. It seems likely that at least one of Schwehm's scenarios is more in line with aboriginal temples and houses observed by the early European explorers of the Southeast (DePratter 1991:90-96). However, examination of Figure 9.13 in Sears (1982:166) indicates that the premise of a "D-shaped" platform with effigies around the edge may be in error. In fact, Sears (1982:165-

166) notes that the platform is a conjectural concept, citing as evidence piles of rotted wood and the remains of tree trunks and trees. I examined several maps of the pond and its contents in the collections of the Department of Anthropology, FAU, as well as photographs of the pond excavations. Figure 3-10 is an ink rendering of one of these maps, showing the exact locations and positions of the animal carvings. The coordinates along the top and right edges can be matched with those used in the plan of the pond and its attendant mounds in Figure 3-1 center. I was troubled most by the photographs, which clearly show the excavation of wood carvings and burials, but very little additional wood that one might expect for a structure like the platform described by Sears (1982) and Schwehm (1983). Figure 3-11 shows the excavation of the pond, with wood carvings and burials pedestaled. I can find no record of additional wood documented or recovered from the pond that might be associated with the mortuary platform. I would suggest that perhaps the effigy carvings were mounted around the edges and directly in the pond without any platform structure. Burials were placed in the shallow water much as they were at Windover and other earlier mortuary ponds (see Doran and Dickel 1988; Wharton et al. 1981). A further alternative to Sears' interpretation is that the effigies and pond area were intentionally burned, followed by the interment of the wooden sculptures alongside their human

counterparts, and the reinterment of some bodies in the mound complex. This pattern of charnel structure destruction and emptying is more in line with mortuary patterns of neighboring cultures (Sears 1958; Milanich et al. 1984), as well as Hopewellian practices of cremating or burning attendant ritual objects and grave offerings, as well as human bones (Willoughby in Greber and Ruhl 1989:207; Prufer 1964:49-50). Milanich et al. (1984:94-117) present a scenario for the use of the three principal mounds at the McKeithen site. In their interpretation, Mound A served as a charnel processing area, Mound B supported the ritual specialist's dwelling, and Mound C served as final burial area for human remains and the cache of animal effigies previously used in charnel house ritual. Paralleling the case of the portable animal effigies of Fort Center, Milanich et al. (1984:99-100) suggest the Weeden Island ceramic effigies were also moved around before their eventual cache burial in Mound C along with the bones prepared in the charnel house at Mound A.

Schwehm (1983:57-60) discusses several possible meanings or functions for the effigies, suggesting that the large birds and beasts may have served as guardian images, the focus of occasional rituals. The paired effigies of smaller birds and mammals are thought to have been clan totems, as the nature of these animals does not suggest a protective role (Schwehm 1983:58-59). Symbolism related to

creation myths or other tribal legends, as well as "practical" symbolism also are offered as suggestions for the possible meaning of the smaller effigies. Considering the new identification of the large birds, it would seem likely that the vulture effigies are directly associated with the mortuary nature of the charnel pond. I believe that Schwehm's suggestion that the paired effigies reflect social organization is correct, with the paired images reflecting some bipartite or moiety type social structure. Recent biological distancing studies of the mortuary pond and mound skeletal remains indicate a matrilineal/matrilocal kin system (Cassell et al. 1993). As Schwehm (1983:59) states, some of the animals represented at Fort Center are similar to the Timucua clan names recorded in the 17th century. Regarding Timucua phratry or lineage nomenclature, Swanton (1922:370) gives the following lineages, which appear to be exogamous social groups that cross-cut clan organization: White Deer, a chiefly line; Earth; Fish; Buzzard; Bear; Lion; and Partridge. It is possible, as in other tribes of the Southeast, that special offices or duties were reserved for members of specific clans or phratries. If this type of organization existed in the Hopewellian societies of Florida and Ohio it could explain at least one level on which the animal effigies functioned, namely as emblems of the ritual functionaries of different phratries, each responsible for an element of corporate

ceremony. On another level we know that the relationship of animals to specific rituals, medicine organizations, or ritual actors is not arbitrary, but related to the properties, either inherent or ascribed, in the different animals (Howard 1984). The stylistic conventions observed among Ohio Hopewell effigies and those of the incipient and early Glades tradition suggest that inherent characteristics may be emphasized. For example, the choice of vulture or caracara as the patron of the phratry from which mortuary specialists were drawn could be related to the association of these birds with flesh removal and death. This is emphasized in the pose chosen for the carved effigies, which have raised wings, the most characteristic of the vulture in its macabre "dance" over its meal. It is further underscored in the large size of the vulture carvings and their prominent positions as permanent "two-legged" carvings in the pond. If this is the case it would argue for an "open system" employed in the symbolism of the Glades tradition, where most people could understand the meaning of the effigy representations.

Fort Center and the Glades Tradition

The effigy carvings of the Fort Center mortuary pond represent a transition from incipient to early Glades tradition art. The earth architecture is further evidence of the reinterpretation of Hopewellian forms in local media and styles. The use of linear and circular earthworks are

clearly related to sites in the Midwest (Squier and Davis 1848; Morgan 1980). However, the incorporation of the mortuary pond in this architecture follows an Archaic pattern (Doran and Dickel 1988; Luer and Wheeler n.d.). In a similar fashion, the Hopewellian avimorphic and zoöomorphic imagery found on ceramics and small carvings is transferred to large scale wood carving. This corporate mortuary paraphernalia is similar to Hopewellian grave furnishings, but has greater similarity with the Weeden Island pedestaled effigies as interpreted by Milanich et al. (1984).

Within Florida the stylistic relationship of the effigies remains somewhat enigmatic. Sears (1982) notes that the Fort Center effigies differ in both style and function from the more well-known carvings of Key Marco. Schwehm (1983) notes several similarities, and seems more willing to ally the Fort Center and Key Marco materials. The wood carvings of Belle Glade are also included in this "regional art style" by Schwehm (1983:85). Comparison with the animal imagery and styles of Hopewellian and Weeden Island cultures finds additional sources of inspiration for the Fort Center effigies. I offer the following scenario of relationships and directionality. Most of the animals represented at Fort Center are probably derived from the ideographic panoply of the Hopewellian cultures outside of Florida, as well as the earlier Yent Complex of the Gulf Coast. Despite a similarity in execution, especially those

poses that most distinguish the creatures represented, and the overall naturalism, there is obviously an evolution in terms of scale and function. Animal carvings as large as the Fort Center effigies are unknown or rare in most other Hopewellian contexts. Fort Center and Yent form the basis for early Weeden Island and early Glades tradition styles. This makes the relationship between Weeden Island and the Glades traditions significant at a very early stage, and suggests considerable articulation necessary in producing effigy carvings and effigy ceramics that are similar in composition, style, and function. The question of Key Marco and Belle Glade, and their alliance with Fort Center becomes clear here. While not contemporary, they are products of this earlier Hopewellian-influenced style. Key Marco and Belle Glade both share elements of the early Glades tradition (i.e., wooden tablets with stylized and plain forms) that are absent at Fort Center. Belle Glade also shares traits with Fort Center that are absent at Key Marco. • This makes Fort Center earliest in the sequence, the pre-contact Belle Glade assemblage an intermediary, leaving Key Marco as the most developed. This is confirmed by the comparison of traits shared by each assemblage, as well as overall stylistic patterns. I believe this outline scenario explains Schwehm's (1983) difficulty in affixing the relationship of the Fort Center effigies, though she properly recognized the alignments, but not the ordering.

Regarding the nature of the ceremonialism exhibited at Fort Center the best analogy is to the Hopewellian symbol system described by Greber and Ruhl (1989), which focuses on the complementary duality of the deer and bear, perhaps with avian forms serving some mediating role (Hall 1979). Hints of antlered costumes link Fort Center to other Hopewellian and Florida sites. Further, the mortuary pond seems to fill the role of mass burial or charnel house type mounds as described by Sears (1958:276-277), again a parallel with Yent and Weeden Island ceremonialism. In this case, however, the animal images are carved of wood (not modeled in ceramic), and buried along with the dead. In some sense this burial of animal effigies parallels the burial of animals reported from the Midwest (Parmalee and Perino 1970; Henriksen 1965:65), where some special animals are buried as are humans. The exact relationship between humans and the animal effigies remains unclear, though most evidence would suggest some form of kin affiliations that connect the animals and their human counterparts.

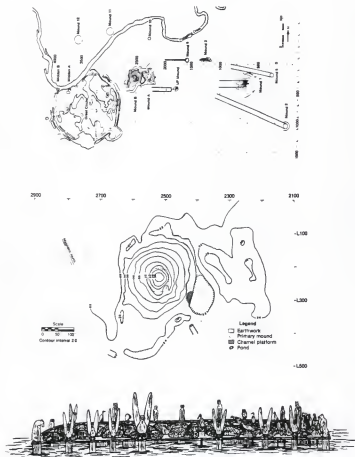


Figure 3-1. Plan of Fort Center, mound-pond complex, and mortuary platform (from Sears 1982:4, 146, 168). Reproduced with the permission of the author.

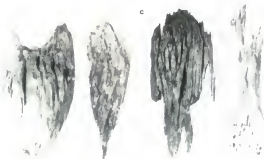
**A****c****B**

Figure 3-2. Large birds and beasts, Fort Center. a, vulture, 1.48 m; b, bear, back is 91.4 cm (from Sears 1982:40, 44). Reproduced with the permission of the author.

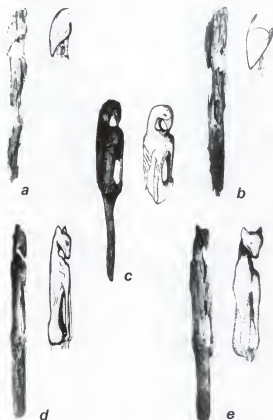


Figure 3-3. Tenoned animals, Fort Center. a, owl, 1.33 m; b, owl, 1.37 m; c, eagle, 99.1 cm; d, fox, 1.49 m; e, fox, 1.52 m (from Sears 1982:47). Reproduced with the permission of the author.

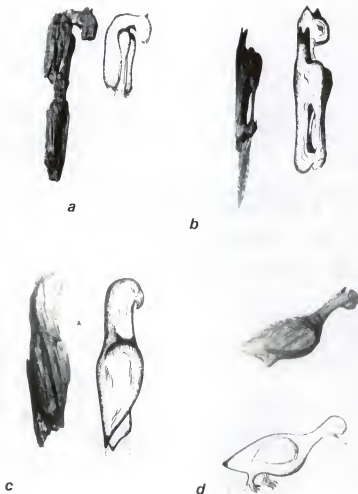


Figure 3-5. Two-legged and tenoned animals, Fort Center. a, dog, 99.1 cm; b, cat, 1.28 m; c, osprey, 48.3 cm; d, duck, 40.0 cm (from Sears 1982:49, 51, 54). Reproduced with the permission of the author.



Figure 3-6. Tenoned hawk carving, Fort Center, 55.9 cm.
Photograph from the collection of FAU.



Figure 3-7. Bird head fragments and miscellaneous carvings, Fort Center. a, woodpecker with tenoned handle, 18.4 cm; b, avocet, 27.9 cm; c, owl, 12.1 cm; d, stilt, 23.5 cm; e, eagle, 18.4 cm; f, spoonbill, 18.4 cm; g, heron, 17.1 cm; h, spoonbill, 22.2 cm; i, bird, 22.2 cm (from Sears 1982:50). Reproduced with the permission of the author).

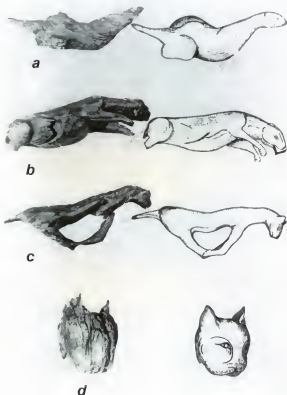


Figure 3-8. Miscellaneous and utilitarian carvings, Fort Center. a, otter, 40.0 cm; b, otter, 38.7 cm; c, running panther, 39.4 cm; d, cat head, 10.2 cm (from Sears 1982:56). Reproduced with the permission of the author.



Figure 3-9. Running panther *in situ*, Fort Center, 39.4 cm. Photograph from the collection of FAU, used with permission.



Figure 3-4. Two-legged style carvings, Fort Center. a, dog, 61.0 cm; b, eagle, 99.1 cm. Photographs from the collection of FAU, used with permission.

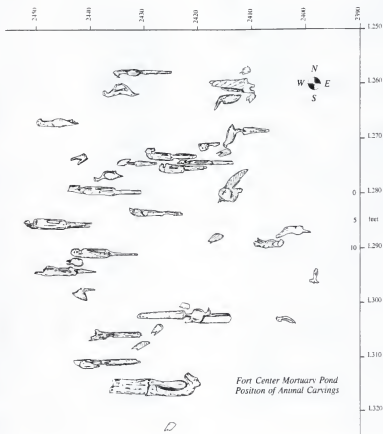


Figure 4-10. Plan of carvings in mortuary pond, Fort Center, based on drawings and notes on file, FAU and FLMNH. Grid coordinates can be matched with those in Figure 3-1.



Figure 3-11. Wood carvings and burials *in situ*, Fort Center. Photographs from the collection of FAU, used with permission.

CHAPTER 4 AN OSSEOUS BESTIARY

A collection of small bone animal carvings known from southern and eastern Florida exist in juxtaposition to the corporate art of the Fort Center mortuary pond. Contexts for these pieces include midden deposits and burials, suggesting a personal function for the carvings. In this case human-material culture relationships are fewer. The small scale of carving indicates the most important relationship was between the individual who carved or wore the object, the animal represented and the actual artifact. The individualistic flavor of carving exhibited in each piece helps confirm the personal nature of these carvings.

Comparison with the large carvings of Fort Center and the ceremonial regalia of Key Marco indicates that the carvings of the "osseous bestiary" are the smallest of Glades tradition art. The carvers of this style also appear to be the most conservative in their devotion to Hopewellian inspirations. The animal carvings are rarely combined with geometric forms introduced later in time, and do not seem to experience any stylistic fluctuations after contact with extralocal styles. The carvings of this style are also most persistent, since they are made and used well into the time of European contact.

Bone Animal Carvings

Highly naturalistic and delicately carved animals of bone and antler are known in small numbers from southern and eastern Florida. Unlike the effigy plummets discussed in Chapter 2, the bone carvings portray a more diverse array of wildlife, ranging from numerous avian forms, mammals, reptiles, to fish and aquatic mammals. This probably results from the merger of the animal forms introduced during the Hopewell horizon and the earlier symbol sets of the pre-Glades styles. There are, however, certain animals that reoccur, to the exclusion of the bulk of the animals known to live in southern Florida, suggesting some special significance is attached to these creatures. Most bone and antler animal carvings date to the Glades II (A.D. 750-1200) period, though examples continued to be produced well into the Glades III (A.D. 1200-1763) period, and some early pieces are known from Glades I (500 B.C.-A.D. 750). Carved animal forms continued to be produced during the era of European contact. Most of the carvings are broken ornaments from bone pins or tools, and have been recovered from village midden sites. Some bone carvings have been found in burial or ceremonial contexts, pointing to the personal nature of these artifacts, as well as a ritual or religious significance.

Within the context of the developing model of Hopewellian and Glades art and symbol systems the animal

images carved and incised in bone can exist at several hermeneutic levels. In the most literal sense the animals may represent clan or phratry founders. They also may be emblems of shaman who specialize in certain types of diseases and cures in which these animals may have a specific role. On another interpretive level these animals may serve as models of the sociopolitical relationships that exist between individuals and groups. An argument for this meaning has been advanced by Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984) for the zoomorphic images of Weeden Island ceramics. On a more esoteric level the animals may be actors in broader cosmological patterns that model the organization of the universe. Clues to the positions of the animals on each of these levels can be found in their contexts (unfortunately rare for these objects), their similarities with other images in Hopewell or Weeden Island art, and the patterns inherent in stylistic conventions.

The bone and antler animal effigies are organized below in broad taxonomic classes. The types of animals represented (i.e., birds, reptiles) were used to define some of the taxonomic groups, though others were formulated based on stylistic conventions (i.e., aquatic animals). It is likely that the taxonomic system employed by the ancient artists of the Glades tradition is only poorly modeled in the present divisions, though the below discussion is

designed to come to some understanding of the patterns of art and symbol organization imbedded in this system.

Avifauna

Bone and antler carvings of birds are most numerous, and include portrayals of the Carolina parakeet, pelican, duck, aquatic birds, and others. Mode of execution also varies, ranging from full-round carving, bas-relief, and incising. The antler carving of what may be a Florida parakeet was recovered by Laxson (1959:59) during salvage excavations at Florida Portland (8DA94) (Figure 4-2a). The bottom portion of the carving is broken, but may have continued into the shaft of a pin, or have been tenoned for insertion in a socketed-head pin. The eyes are deeply drilled, and Laxson (1959:59) suggests that they may have originally been designed to receive inset pieces of shell or other material. The beak is slightly damaged, but the shape and incised details are similar to the effigy plummets thought to depict parakeets, discussed in the preceding chapter. The parakeet is the subject of Hopewell effigy pipes and plummets, and may, like the spoonbill and other migratory or wandering birds, represent the kinds of human interactions involved in the Hopewellian exchange network.

A duck from Margate-Blount (8BD41) is also carved in the round (Figure 4-2d). Unfortunately, the head of the duck was not recovered. The reconstruction presented here is based on duck imagery from Key Marco and Belle Glade.

The shiny, hard exterior layer of antler has eroded away, leaving little detail of the duck's body. The feet, however, are very realistically portrayed, and there is no indication that the duck was fitted to a bone pin shaft. The duck's posture suggests a dabbling, perhaps a marsh or pond duck. The carving was recovered from a ceremonial precinct at Margate-Blount (8BD41) that dated to the early Glades III period, and contained other decorated bone artifacts, as well as the burials of alligators, turtles, raccoons and rattlesnakes (see Chapter 7 for more on this site). The duck is clearly an image originating in the art of the Hopewell horizon.

An incised and slightly modeled depiction of a pelican ornaments the head of a long-bone dagger from Key Marco (Gilliland 1975:209). The exact species of bird portrayed has been a topic of discussion, with Cushing's (1897) original identification of vulture standing for many years (Figure 4-2e). The hook at the end of the bird's bill tends to favor the pelican identification (see Wheeler 1992c), and similar portrayals in wood are known from Key Marco as well. Notable details include the figures enclosing the eyes, as well as the paired medial lines extending down the pelican's bill. This latter feature was noted for some of the effigy plummets discussed above, and Allerton et al. (1984) have compared the facial details of the pelican carving with other zoöomorphic images, as well as the ceremonial tablets.

It should be noted that the figure surrounding the pelican's eye produces a triangular projection that points downward toward the beak. This triangular figure occurs on a number of Hopewellian plummets discussed in Chapter 2 (see Figures 2-15a, e, g, h, 2-16a-b, and 2-17a-b).

A rather interesting little bird from Mound Key forms the ornamented head of what may be a bone feather holder (Figure 4-2b). This piece may portray a plover or similar shorebird. A hole extends between the wings, and through the body, emerging just behind the pin shaft. Like some other pins with a similar configuration, this may be a feather holder (see Richardson and Pohl 1982). The body of the little shorebird is interesting in the use of punctations and incised lines to denote feathers and other markings. Another fragmentary specimen from the same site appears to represent a turkey, and bears an unusual Y-shaped figure enclosed in a circle (Figure 4-2c). Both artifacts were associated with a Glades IIIC (A.D. 1513-1763) burial assemblage. These two carvings indicate that the bone and antler carving tradition established following the Hopewell horizon persisted well into the contact era. It is also interesting that these two pieces were amongst a host of grave goods, many of Spanish origin, but also including metal tablets and a crested woodpecker ornament, as described in Chapter 8.

Salvage excavations at Cheetum (8DA1058) produced an antler tine with the incised image of a bird. This piece dates to the late Glades II/early Glades III transition, and the use of antler may associate this artifact with the Mississippian zoöomorphic carvings from Margate-Blount (see Chapter 7).

Mammals

Mammal effigies also vary in species depicted and mode of execution. Again, most of these carvings form the upper or head portion of decorated bone pins, though one piece included here is a pendant. Some artifacts depict animals that may be mammals, though details are not present to make a precise determination. A focus on the head or face is a distinctive attribute of many bone animal carvings, and is probably a feature derived from the effigy plummet styles described in the preceding chapter.

The bone carving of a deer found at Onion Key (8MO49) has been mentioned above in connection with Hopewellian forms, and compared to the stone effigy plummet from Jones and a rabbit or deer boatstone from Ohio (see Figures 2-17, 4-3b and 4-4). Like other bone effigies, only the head is depicted, again forming the decorative end of a bone pin. Like the effigy plummet from Jones, the Onion Key deer has pinned-back ears, an elaborate muzzle, radiant eyes, and pendent-triangles. Radiant eyes also are a distinctive feature of the Key Marco deer figurehead (see Figure 5-5).

Unlike the Key Marco, Weeden Island and Jones deer effigies, the Onion Key carving is probably that of a doe or extremely young male, as no antlers are in evidence and no place for attaching antlers is present. One surface still retains traces of white pigment, a rare feature of some bone carvings. Cervid imagery is portrayed in several wood carvings and paintings on wood from Key Marco, as well as a few Weeden Island ceramic vessels from Florida and Georgia, and appears to be a prominent element of Hopewellian art and symbology.

Another deer effigy was recovered with two female burials from Nebot (8PB219) (Kennedy and Isçan 1987). This deer is incised on a flat bone-pin (see Figure 4-6c). Conservatism of line is a remarkable feature of all the Nebot carvings, with only a few incised lines used to depict the eye, mouth and ears of the creature. Again, only the head of the animal is depicted, and this is also probably a doe or extremely young male. Like the bird carvings from Mound Key, the Nebot collection is dated to Glades IIIC, the European contact-era. This is one of the few sites where a burial context is documented for a group of incised bone artifacts. In this case salvage excavations recovered the burials of two women. Three decorated bone objects--the deer carving, as well as the rattlesnake and human effigies illustrated in Figure 5-6a-b--were loosely associated with these individuals.

Perhaps one of the finest antler carvings of an animal comes from Fort Florida (8VO48), a shell midden and sand mound complex on the St. Johns River. Unlike most other specimens discussed here, this carving is a plummet and not a pin (Figures 4-3a and 4-5). The animal represented appears to be a bear climbing a tree, which forms the shaft of the plummet. Details include a toothy and rather devilish grin, individual toes with claws, alert ears, and a tail gently resting on the animal's back. Like many other bone animal effigies discussed here, this piece has great similarity with Copena and Ohio Hopewell effigy pipes (Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941:59; Seaman 1979b:344; cf. Figure 2-21, right side, three down). Dog and bear-like animals are often portrayed, and share many of the details described for the Fort Florida carving. The bear, along with the deer, is a major component of Hopewellian art and symbolism. Correspondences can be found between the Fort Florida effigy and a group of mica bear effigies from Turner, Ohio (Willoughby 1917:Pl. 9b; 1922:56, Pl. 15a). These effigies were painted with dark-red, brown, and pink pigment. The bear also appears as an abstract figure on several Hopewellian copper and bone artifacts where only the outline of the paw and claws appears (see Figure 2-13b). In other Glades contexts the bear is prominent at Fort Center (see Chapter 3) and Key Marco (see Chapter 5 and the discussion of the bear mask).

Lord (1989) reports on a opossum carved in bas-relief, which was recovered from a looter's spoil pile at the Lyons-Lord site (8DA5128). Lord (1989) feels that the animal is actually a bobcat or feline of some type, and compares the piece to the Key Marco man-cat carving. Overall morphology suggests an opossum is more likely the intended animal. Like the bear effigy, the opossum is clinging to the trunk of a tree, which forms the shaft of the bone pin (Figure 4-3c). This piece is broken in several places, but preserves a naturalistic and delicate portrayal of the opossum. Several features of this piece include considerable facial detail, an elongated snout with medial line, alert ears, punctations that seem to indicate spots or fur, as well as a long tail with incised lines, undoubtedly representing the segment-like sections of the marsupial's hairless tail. The opossum is a rare occurrence in the art of Hopewell, Weeden Island and later developments of the SECC. This argues for a minor role of this animal in the overall symbol system, though the opossum occasionally fills the role of a trickster figure in the mythology of the Southeastern Indians (Swanton 1929:158, 199-200, 249).

In some cases carvings were made of animal parts. A specimen from Riviera (8PB30) depicts half a mandible with four teeth (Wheeler 1992b). Carved mandibles are known in slate and shell from the Florida Transitional period (1000-750 B.C.), and this Glades III example may be derived from

that early style (see Bullen et al. 1978 on the Canton Street site, and Jahn and Bullen 1978 on Tick Island). Decorated animal mandibles also were used as ornaments during the former period, and the replicas are likely related to this. Tooth effigies carved of bone are numerous at many Hopewell sites, as are modified animal mandibles (Willoughby in Greber and Ruhl 1989:229-231; Griffin et al. 1970:Pls. 62a, 76b, 119b). The replication of animal parts, also noted below in discussions of serpent and shark imagery, helps confirm the assertion that the osseous media of Glades art has some special symbolic significance. The widespread use of bone in making replicas of animal parts argues for some special significance to the medium, as well as the parts replicated.

Reptiles

Reptiles depicted in bone include turtles and snakes. A typical example is a small ornamented pin fragment from Peace Camp (8BD52) that illustrates the head of an animal (Mowers and Williams 1972:16). Lack of ears has led to inclusion of this piece with serpent and reptile carvings (Figure 4-7a). A rather enigmatic bone carving from Hontoon Island (8VO202) may represent a turtle (Figure 4-7d). While fragmentary, the head and neck of a turtle is most likely the intended animal. Carefully incised details include scales on the neck, a gaping mouth, and scutes around the head and eye. Other figures on the shaft of the pin are

described in Chapter 7, and are associated with abstract avian imagery or designs derived from technical work with feathers. Like most of the decorated bone recovered from the site, this piece dates to St. Johns IIC, roughly the equivalent of Glades IIIC, the period of European contact/conquest. The attempt to merge the geometric and zoömorphic designs in this piece makes the turtle carving unique. The two distinct design and form categories of natural versus artificial apparently were considered incompatible by most Glades artists. The fact that the turtle carving was made in the St. Johns region may be due to greater freedom on the part of St. Johns artists in experimenting with combinations of these two design/form families.

A rather simple carving from Margate-Blount also may be a turtle effigy (Williams 1983:148-149). This piece is carved from the cancellous material found at the center of a piece of bone or antler, and lacks detail (Figure 4-7c). It shares with the Hontoon Island specimen the same projecting lower jaw and small beady eyes.

Excavations at Jupiter Inlet (8PB34) recovered a broken bone pin bearing the carving of a serpent's head (Kennedy et al. 1993:120). An enlarged eye and detailed mouth give this little carving a rather sinister appearance (Figures 4-7b and 4-8). The deposits at Jupiter date to Glades II (A.D. 750-1200).

A flat bone-dagger with twenty-two brass inlays and paired curvilinear incised lines is thought to represent the stylized body of a rattlesnake (Figure 4-6b) (Kennedy and İsaçan 1987). Recovered with the burials of two females and several other decorated bone artifacts (described above and below), the inlaid dagger from Nebot can be associated with other inlaid bone artifacts of the terminal Glades tradition. The inlays are cut in diamond and rectangular shapes, and combined with the curvilinear lines, give the sense of the rattlesnake's appearance and movement. The absence of the serpent's head and tail is an interesting feature, and may be related to beliefs about the animal. I suggested in an earlier study that the Nebot rattlesnake artifact may be related to the ritual burial of a decapitated rattlesnake at Margate-Blount. In the ceremonial precinct of this site several animal burials were found, including the coiled remains of a rattlesnake, with both head and tail cut off (Graves, personal communication, 1991). As noted above, the carvings may be related metaphorically to the media in which they are created. Metaphors along this same line may extend to behaviors--in this case, the ceremonial burial of the decapitated rattlesnake.

Carved bone pin heads depicting rattlesnake tails originally may date to the Paleo-Indian era, and have been recovered from the rivers of north central Florida. These

carvings also are known from the Archaic era, and continued to be produced well into the Glades II (A.D. 750-1200) period (see Figure 4-9). Examples illustrated here include early specimens from the Ichetucknee River and Useppa Island (8LL51), as well as later examples from Granada (8DA11), Coral Springs (8BD50), and Key Marco. These vary from the realistic depictions of Key Marco (Gilliland 1975:208) and Coral Springs (Williams 1970:144), to a piece from Granada that replicates the undulating features of a rattlesnake. An antler carving from Key Marco (see Figure 4-9e) not only depicts the rattlesnake tail, but also has an enlarged and notched end that may have served to represent the serpent's head. Similar forms date to the Archaic era and well into the later Glades periods (cf. Figure 7-17; Wheeler 1994:Figs. 5 and 9b).

Turtles appear occasionally in the arts of Adena and Hopewell, where the complete animal with carapace, legs, and head is carved in stone (Jefferies 1979:165; Dragoo 1963:89, Pl. 34). Turtle effigies in copper also are known (Mills 1922:Fig. 17d). Decorated turtle carapace dishes occur with some Michigan, Ohio, and Iowa Hopewell burials (Griffin et al. 1970:140-142), while in Florida perforated box turtle carapaces were probably used as rattles (Gilliland 1975:218, Pl. 130a). The turtle effigy pin (see Figure 4-7d) from Hontoon Island was recovered from a stratum containing a large number of intact *Gopherus polyhemus* or Gopher Tortoise

carapaces, probably the result of a single collecting episode and possible feast (Purdy 1990:36; Wheeler 1991:11-12). Evidence from the 17th century Spanish *Confessionario* of Pareja indicates a special significance for the turtle among the Timucua, who performed certain prayers or formulae prior to the collection of this animal (in Milanich and Sturtevant 1973:27).

I have previously documented the early portrayal of rattlesnakes and serpents in the Archaic era (Wheeler 1994). The study of these early bone and antler carvings indicates that serpents may have been the first animals depicted in the representational art of Florida, and the forms discussed above may be an outgrowth of this early style. The earliest serpent forms include the zig-zag or lightening motifs, often associated with the snake by Southern Indians (Fogelson 1971:336); cross-hatch motifs; and the "rattler" tail carvings. The serpent, occasionally appearing with horns, is a component of Hopewell art and symbol (Willoughby 1917:Pl. 9m). The "underwater panther," an effigy carving of an unusual composite creature from Turner, Ohio, bears a cross-hatch motif and the tail of a rattlesnake--both prominent elements of the serpent in Glades art. The serpent also appears with a minor frequency in the arts of Weeden Island (see Chapter 6).

Other reptiles carved of bone or antler include a lizard executed in low relief on the shaft of a bone pin.

The lizard carving depicts the entire body, including rather detailed legs and feet. This specimen was on exhibit at the St. Petersburg Museum of History and is from a private collection. I also observed the antler carving of an alligator's head on exhibit at the Loxahatchee Historical Museum. This piece is also from a private collection, and closely resembles the form of the wooden alligator figurehead from Key Marco.

Aquatic Animals

A rectangle of turtle carapace engraved with a pair of wheeling dolphins was recovered by Cushing at Key Marco (Cushing 1897:376-377). Cushing (1897:377) is ambiguous about his identification of these animals, referring to them as both dolphins and porpoises, though their long beak-like snouts and body markings suggest they are actually dolphins. This piece is illustrated in Figure 4-10e and 4-11. Cushing found many bone rectangles at the site, and this artifact class has been found elsewhere in southern Florida (Gilliland 1975; Walker 1989). Cushing describes the pair of dolphins, noting that the natural suture of the bone forms the waterline, with one of the marine mammals above the water, and the other diving below it. The two dolphins are similar in overall outline, with some minor differences, including variations in the mouth (one of the pair has teeth), fins and body markings. The bone rectangle is highly polished, and the surface is covered with light

scratches, perhaps the result of use in fishing-net tying as Walker (1989) describes for these artifacts. Cushing (1897; Gilliland 1975:80) also recovered a wooden amulet with an engraving of a dolphin at Key Marco, similar, though slightly more elaborate than the dolphins engraved on bone (Figure 5-12). This animal has a lateral line, like the dolphins in bone, but is embellished with elongated tick marks, perhaps to replicate the body markings of a specific cetacean species.

Along with the dolphins described above, a fish engraved on a bone pin from Margate-Blount is one of the few aquatic animals depicted in bone (Figure 4-10a). This carving depicts a rather sinister fish, perhaps a barracuda or similar species. The fish's mouth is open, revealing a set of large teeth, and the body of the animal wraps around the shaft of the pin in a rather serpent-like or eel-like fashion. A lateral line extends from the eye of the fish, and several other body lines enclose areas with elongated tick marks, very similar to the dolphin engraved on the amulet from Key Marco. Fins project from the back and stomach of the fish, and the dorsal fin extends along most of the creature's back. The morphological characteristics suggest that this may be intended to depict an eel. The open mouth is often thought to be a menacing stance in eels, but in fact is related to respiration and feeding.

An enigmatic bone or antler artifact from Key Marco (previously identified as wood) is carved to resemble a ray or skate (Figure 4-10b). Cushing (1897:374; Gilliland 1975:116) states that the excised circles on the artifact surface were set with tortoise shell inlays when found. Cushing (1897:374) described this as an "angel-fish," though a Torpedo Ray (*Torpedo nobiliana*) seems more likely. A mouth is evidenced on the reverse, and a recessed area allowed for fastening the carving to clothing or cordage.

Sharks are also represented in decorative bone carving, but the entire shark form is not depicted, only the primitive vertebrae are carved on the heads of some bone pins. One example from Granada illustrates four shark vertebrae (Figure 4-10c). The piece is broken, but appears to have served as the head of a bone pin. The carving is so realistic that some people have questioned if this is a carving or a real cluster of vertebrae. Another similar bone pin from Pineland (8LL33) depicts two shark vertebrae (Figure 4-10d). A different species is clearly intended, as the vertebrae depicted are elongated and have slightly different surface features. Shark vertebrae were used as beads, with early examples from Groves' Orange Midden (Wheeler and McGee 1994:358-359) and later forms from Granada (Richardson and Pohl 1982:93, 162). McGregor (1952:Pl. 20, Fig. 2g) and Griffin et al. (1970:Pl. 95a) illustrate "ear spools of deer antler" that have a

remarkable resemblance to shark vertebrae. They may actually be shark vertebrae beads traded to the Midwest, or replicas of the same.

Fish effigies occur as shell and copper ornaments in Ohio and Florida Hopewell contexts (Greber and Ruhl 1989:Fig. 4.24; see Chapter 2). Aquatic creatures are apparently a minor component of both Hopewellian and Weeden Island (Sears 1953:Pl. 9, top, reports a ceramic fish effigy from Kolomoki) art and symbol systems. This aspect is elaborated by Glades artists, who choose several distinctive fish and fish-like animals for signification. Late ethnohistorical documents on the Indian groups residing near present-day Miami confirm this, indicating that the principal idol was a barracuda-like fish painted on a board, surrounded by tongue-like figures (Hann 1991:422).

Zoöomorphic Bone Bead

A small square bone bead from Mound Key is valuable in evaluating zoomorphic imagery in southern Florida (Figure 4-13). Both sides of the bead are engraved. The obverse side has an abstract face, with elliptical inlaid brass devices, circular eyes, a medial strip, as well as a scroll-like mouth. The face is partially surrounded with a band of geometric incising. The reverse is engraved with concentric circles and four pairs of radiating lines. The features of this artifact share a great deal in common with the ceremonial tablets mentioned above, and described in greater

detail in Chapter 8. More on the relationship of this piece, zoöomorphic imagery and the ceremonial tablets later.

Humans

Human depictions in bone are rare, and appear to be restricted to the Glades III period (see Figure 4-6a and 4-14). This increase in human imagery occurs in wood carving and ceramics dating to this period as well. Small ceramic figurines have already been described for the Yent and Green Point complexes, and Weeden Island ceramics include a distinctive mortuary effigy style that will be discussed in Chapter 6. The increase of portrayal of humans in wood and bone during the late and terminal Glades tradition is probably a result of Mississippian influences.

A human face carved onto the side of an ulna awl was recovered from the contact era Nebot site (Kennedy and İşcan 1987). Like the other engraved bone from this site the human face is executed with only a few incised lines (Figure 4-6a). Chevron-shaped eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, and an almond-shaped mouth are lightly engraved on the bone surface. A few cuts into the shaft of the awl provide a nose and a goatee beard.

A human parietal recovered with burials at Goodman (8DU66A) bears a stylized engraving of a human face (Recourt 1975:89). A number of perforations surround the edge of the bone gorget. Details of the engraved face include eyes with curvilinear extensions below, as well as ears, nose, and

mouth (Figure 4-14a). The arrangement of the eyes may be related to the weeping-eye motif, a conventionalized design associated with the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Waring and Holder 1945). Dating of the Goodman site, based on associated ceramics, would suggest however, that this is a manifestation of the Weeden Island culture, and predates Mississippian and SECC art.

A surface collection at Sheraton Shores (8PI134) led to the discovery of a bone pendant carved in the form of a human hand (Warren and Bushnell 1963). Warren and Bushnell (1963:50) note that the fingers and thumb are disproportionate, though the palm is realistically convex and concave (Figure 4-14c). The pendant appears to represent the right hand. It is impossible to date this particular piece, though a surface collection recorded by Warren and Bushnell (1963:50) would indicate a Weeden Island occupation, with a few sherds of earlier and later cultures. The hand motif occurs in Yent and Green Point ceramics (see Chapter 2), but is also prominent in the conventionalized designs of the SECC, and has been documented on Safety Harbor ceramics (see Chapter 7).

A small fragmentary antler carving of a human foot was recovered at Granada (Richardson and Pohl 1982; Wheeler 1992c). This piece depicts the left foot, and shows details of the bottom and top of a human extremity, including toes and toenails (Figure 4-14b). The foot carving may have been

part of a human effigy or a human leg effigy. This specimen dates to Glades IIIB.

Early Glades Tradition

As with the Fort Center wood carvings, many of the small bone animal carvings are local objects crafted in Hopewellian style. Unlike the Fort Center carvings, the bone and antler carvings are personal objects used to adorn hair or clothing. In some sense this allies them with Hopewellian effigy pipes, where the animal is intimately related to the smoker it faces, as well as the effigy plummets described in Chapter 2. I have included most animals carved of bone and antler in this "osseous bestiary," though this is a tradition that continues well into the terminal phase described in Chapter 8. Later additions include portrayals of humans, which are rare in early Glades tradition carving.

Ideographically, the small bone animal carvings depict animals found in Hopewellian art, the Fort Center style carvings, as well as Weeden Island ceramics. A focus on portrayals of animal or bird heads is probably an outgrowth of the bird effigy plummets described in Chapter 2. Correspondences between the style of the effigy plummets and the bone carvings helps confirm this relationship. Animals, like the rattlesnake are also depicted, often represented in a "rattle" carved at the head of a bone pin. Rattlesnake imagery is probably some of the earliest known in bone and

antler, so a continuation of this tradition is not surprising (Wheeler 1994). Widmer's (1989) suggestion that southern Florida lacks rattlesnake imagery is difficult to understand.

Stylistically, the bone animal carvings are often highly naturalistic, and like the other animal depictions of Glades tradition and Weeden Island, many can be identified to a particular species. Examples from the late and terminal phases are often more stylized. A particular feature that unifies the animal imagery of Hopewell and southern Florida is an attempt to capture the essence of the animal in its typical or characteristic pose.



Figure 4-1. Geographic extent of the "osseous bestiary."

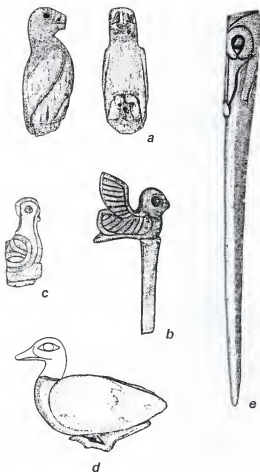


Figure 4-2. Bone and antler carvings of birds. a, Carolina parakeet, Florida Portland (8DA94), FLMNH 94380 (Laxson 1959:59); b-c, shorebird and turkey, Mound Key, UM 8217, UM 6398; d, duck, Margate-Blount (8BD41), BCAS; e, pelican, Key Marco (8CR49) (after Gilliland 1975:209). All to scale: a, 4.0 cm; b, 5.1 cm; except e, which is one-half scale.

*a**b**c*

Figure 4-3. Bone carvings of mammals. a, bear carving, Fort Florida (8VO48), private collection; b, doe or juvenile deer carving, Onion Key (8MO49), SEAC-NPS 1824; c, opossum carving, Lyons-Lord (8DA5128), HMSF. All to scale: a, 6.0 cm; b, 4.9 cm; c, 4.5 cm.



Figure 4-4. Doe or juvenile male deer carving, Onion Key, 4.9 cm.

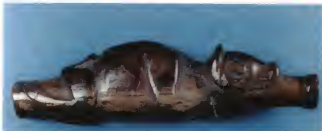


Figure 4-5. Antler carving of bear, Fort Florida, 6.0 cm.

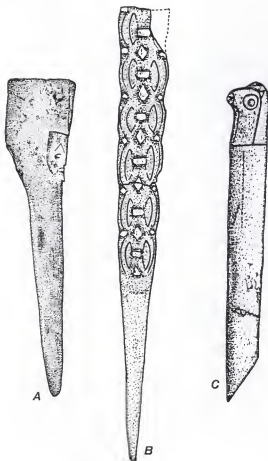


Figure 4-6. Bone carvings from Nebot (8PB219). a, human face on deer ulna; b, rattlesnake motif with brass inlays; c, deer carving, FAU A2114 (see Kennedy and İşcan 1987). All to scale: b, 12.4 cm.

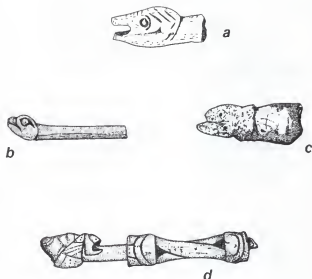


Figure 4-7. Bone carvings of reptiles. a, Peace Camp (8BD52) (after Mowers and Williams 1972:16); b, serpent, Jupiter Inlet (8PB34), FAU A2672; c, turtle, Margate-Blount (8BD41) (after Williams 1983:148-149); d, turtle, Hontoon Island (8VO202), FBAR (Wheeler 1992c:65). All to scale: b, 3.4 cm; d, 6.6 cm.



Figure 4-8. Serpent carving, Jupiter Inlet, 3.4 cm.

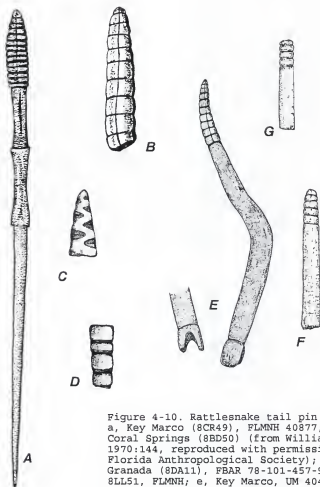


Figure 4-10. Rattlesnake tail pin heads. a, Key Marco (8CR49), FLMNH 40877; b, Coral Springs (8BD50) (from Williams 1970:144, reproduced with permission, Florida Anthropological Society); c, Granada (8DA11), FBAR 78-101-457-9; d, 8LL51, FLMNH; e, Key Marco, UM 40440; f-g, Ichetucknee River, Simpson Collection, FLMNH A2032, 102603. All to scale: a, 16.2 cm; e, 10.6 cm.

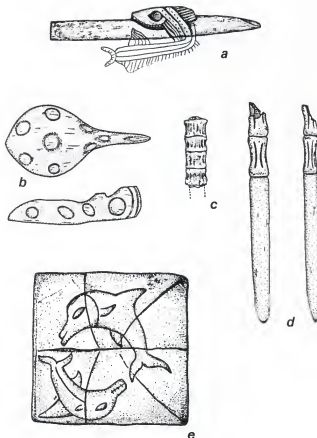


Figure 4-10. Bone carvings of aquatic animals. a, eel, Margate-Blount (8BD41), BCAS; b, stingray, Key Marco (8CR49), FLMNH A5600; c, shark vertebrae effigy, Granada (8DA11), FBAR; d, shark vertebrae effigy, Pineland (8LL33), FLMNH 92-11-2; e, wheeling dolphins, Key Marco, UM 40801. All to scale: a, 6.9 cm; d, 7.4 cm.



Figure 4-11. Wheeling dolphins, Key Marco, UM 40801. Reproduced with permission, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.



Figure 4-12. Duck or roseate spoonbill tablet with incised dolphin, Key Marco (after Gilliland 1975:Pl. 36).



Figure 4-13. Zoomorphic bone bead, obverse and reverse sides, Mound Key, UM 8220, 2.0 cm x 1.7 cm. Compare with ceremonial tablets in Chapter 8.

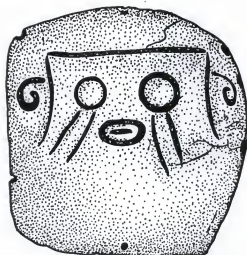
**A****B****C**

Figure 4-14. Human images in bone. a, engraved human parietal, Goodman (8DU66A) (after Recourt 1975:89); b, foot effigy fragment, Granada (8DA11), FBAR 78-101-205-9; c, hand effigy pendant, Sheraton Shores (8PI134) (after Warren and Bushnell 1963). All to scale: a, 10.0 cm.

CHAPTER 5
KEY MARCO

The wood carvings of Key Marco's "Court of the Pile Dwellers," recovered at the end of the 19th century by Frank H. Cushing, represent an extravagant and enigmatic example of southern Florida's ancient art. The Cushing collection is unique in the amount and quality of carved, painted and otherwise decorated wood and bone artifacts. The site and its ceremonial assemblage are equally enigmatic, with problems in temporal and cultural assignment having plagued archaeologists for one hundred years. The wooden art objects are often associated with the Calusa, a powerful native polity of the 16th and 17th centuries. The art of Key Marco has been widely illustrated and discussed, though a detailed analysis of form and style is still lacking (Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941; Dockstader 1961; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957; Mason 1951; Gilliland 1975). Clark (1995) has recently undertaken a study of the wooden masks and figureheads from Key Marco, providing the first real analysis of the Cushing collection.

My intent here is to reevaluate some of the major questions about Key Marco, using information provided by Cushing, the objects themselves, as well as their stylistic context within the Glades tradition. Key Marco is an

important site since it represents a non-mortuary assemblage of ritual and decorative paraphernalia. The bulk of the art objects recovered from the site fit within three broad categories, reflecting personal paraphernalia like that described in Chapter 4, large emblems or markers that may be related to the corporate art of Fort Center and Weeden Island discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, as well as a collection of objects representing ritual paraphernalia, costumes or disguises. This latter category has rarely been encountered in Glades tradition sites, though the ritual costumes of the SECC have been well documented (Waring and Holder 1945; Howard 1968; Phillips and Brown 1978:69-102). The intent of this discussion is to place the Key Marco collection within the developing model of Glades tradition art and symbolism. As many previous researchers have noticed (see above and below), some Key Marco artifacts appear to have affinities with motifs and themes of the SECC. As the model of Glades tradition art systems unfolds, it becomes clear that the basic pattern is one based on a mixture of local Archaic and Hopewellian-derived elements, with later additions that are related to Mississippian-influenced styles. This makes the Key Marco collection, and its apparent SECC ties an important case study of the types of changes experienced within the Glades tradition, and possible Florida influences on the developing SECC. •

Based on Cushing's report, some general statements about Key Marco can be made. Cushing excavated a small portion of a much larger site. The area excavated by Cushing contained the remains of several structures, perhaps a priest's dwelling or the village temple. Along with the debris of these structures, which may have been destroyed by a natural catastrophe or wrecked intentionally, were the furnishings of these buildings. The objects recovered include personal ornaments and tools; implements of daily use, like bowls, ladles, knives and axes; as well as ceremonial objects, like the masks, animal figureheads, and ritual tools. There is some information from 16th, 17th, and 18th century Spanish and English sources about the use of these ceremonial items. Masked processions were observed among the Calusa, and painted and carved wooden plaques, as well as masks, were seen in temples, ceremonies, and graveyards in southeastern Florida (various chroniclers in Hann 1991:159-160, 195-196, 287, 422; Dickinson in Andrews and Andrews 1945:59).

Temporal, Spatial and Ethnic Position

Several arguments or controversies have centered on Cushing's find. Some of these date to the time of the original discoveries, and relate to the verisimilitude of some of the objects (see Gilliland 1988 for more on this). Other subjects of discussion have been the extra-areal relationships of the Key Marco art work, the precise dating

of the site, the ethnic affiliation of the artifacts, as well as the situation or conditions that led to the deposition and preservation of the materials. Cushing's (1886, 1896) personal knowledge of Zuñi ceremonialism and belief created a two-edged sword regarding the Key Marco collection. On one hand, the interpretations offered for the objects are informed by a deep and genuine understanding of the broader patterns shared by North American Indian cultures. On the other hand, Cushing's beliefs caused him to construct an elaborate relationship between the cultures of the Caribbean, Florida, and the Southwest. The influences of this notion are in evidence today. Discussions of the extra-areal origins of the Key Marco material have flourished (see Stone 1939), and many authors point to Mesoamerica as the origin of many elements of Southeast Indian art (Sears 1977).

Waring and Holder (1945) suggest that some of the Key Marco art objects are variants of Southern Cult motifs, and include this site in their original formulation of Southern Cult. Specifically the crested bird or woodpecker, "forked eye," and wooden baton were seen as elements of the SECC present at Key Marco. Figure 5-1 illustrates SECC motifs identified by Waring and Holder, including the woodpecker and baton from Key Marco (1945:8,16). Waring and Holder indicate that Key Marco is not a primary cult site, noting that "it is interesting to see elements (of the cult) crop

up at Key Marco against a culture background that suggests primitive survivals dating back to Southeastern archaic levels" (1945:29). Gilliland (1975) and Widmer (1989) have argued against Key Marco as a site of the SECC. Gilliland (1975) engages in a comparison of Southern Cult and Key Marco imagery, noting a general lack of similarity. As noted above, the crested bird and ceremonial baton are both present, as are some other examples that are ubiquitous in many cultures predating the Mississippian era (i.e., ear spools, cross motif, cross-in-circle motif). Representations of the cat and serpent are present, but fit within the style of bone carving discussed in Chapter 4, rather than that found in depictions at SECC sites. Gilliland (1975:40) questions if the "mortuary plaques" bearing stylized human thigh bone motifs could be attributed to the death motif of the SECC (see Figure 5-2). A similar plaque, forming the upper portion of a large post, was recovered from Belle Glade (Willey 1949b), confirming a mortuary association for this form. There is a general correspondence between the motif wrought in low relief or incised on the wooden plaques, and the thigh bone motif often found with the skull or death's head motif on Mississippian ceramics (cf. Figure 5-1, second row, center and Figure 5-2) (Lazarus 1965:224; Lazarus and Hawkins 1976:50-51). Gilliland (1975) does not mention the painted "horned alligator" box side. This may be a variant of the

horned or winged serpent "god-animal" being found in SECC shell engravings and copper repoussé work (Howard 1968). Clark (1995:52-58, 199-200) has elaborated upon the notion that the sea turtle figurehead may represent a falcon's head, complete with eye-markings often used in portrayals of this bird, and further suggests that some of the masks may be those of falcon or hawk-dancers. The falcon and the hawk-dancer are prominent images in SECC art (Strong 1989). Indeed the local nature of the style and imagery along with the unusual medium (i.e., wood) makes comparison with other areas difficult.

What most separates the art work of Key Marco from that of the SECC is the absence of the conventionalized motifs and themes that occur in ceramics, shell, copper, and other media at the recognized SECC sites. Mississippian elements appear in Safety Harbor ceramics, as well as carvings in bone and wood from elsewhere in southern Florida (see Chapter 7). These elements are generally absent from the graceful, naturalistic carvings of Key Marco.

Problems of extra-areal relationships, especially with the Southern Cult, have also led to a controversy over the dating of the site. Gilliland (1975) bases her discussion of Key Marco's chronological position on Goggin's (n.d.:249-255) analysis. Goggin (n.d.:253-254) dated the site to Glades IIIB (A.D. 1400-1513) on the existence of two pottery sherds and one complete vessel from the site, as well as

descriptions of pottery sherds that are no longer extant. One Surfside Incised sherd (a marker for Glades IIIa), one Lake Jackson Plain handle (a Fort Walton type), one small St. Johns Check Stamped vessel (also a marker for Glades III) are the only diagnostic ceramics available from Key Marco. Sherds of a vessel described as having a "scalloped" rim (thought to be Glades Tooled), and a ceramic bird adorno modified to serve as a pendant are missing, and have never been properly classified. I examined the small check-stamped vessel (FLMNH) and it may be Wakulla Check Stamped, a late Weeden Island type from which St. Johns Check Stamped may have developed. Also, it should be noted that ceramic bird adornos are known from Santa Rosa/Swift Creek and Weeden Island pottery (see Chapter 2 and 6), and scalloped rims also are prevalent in Santa Rosa/Swift Creek ceramics (see Chapter 2). The quantity of ceramic material used to date the site, as well as the dubious classification of some of the pottery, should be kept in mind. Coupled with the assignment to the Mississippian-era Southern Cult, the ethnic moniker of "Calusa," and an anomalous radiocarbon date of A.D. 1675 \pm 100 (Ford 1968), the Key Marco collection has generally been assigned to the Glades III period (see Milanich 1978:682). Countering this belief is the discussion provided by Gilliland (1975) and a series of samples assayed by Willard Libby, resulting in five radiocarbon dates roughly dating the collection to A.D. 700-

800 (Gilliland 1975:257-258; Purdy 1991:28-31). These dates are presented here in Table 7-1. Four of the five dates place the materials in the A.D. 700-800 range, roughly corresponding to Glades II, as well as Weeden Island II. One date is earlier. Milanich (1978) has suggested that these dates are grossly in error, possibly due to contamination by museum pesticides. Purdy (1991:29-30) has cited experiments with contaminated radiocarbon samples, noting that such contamination does not severely affect dates. Goggin (n.d.:650) stated that Key Marco is part of the early Glades Cult "phase A," dating to the protocontact era, circa A.D. 1500. I feel, however, the dating needs to be pushed back, more in accordance with the A.D. 700-800 year range suggested by the radiocarbon dates.

Table 7-1. Radiocarbon dates from Key Marco.

Sample #	Radiocarbon years	Calendar years
1	1100-1300 B.P.	A.D. 675-875
2	1920 \pm 60 B.P.	A.D. 55 \pm 60
3	1125 \pm 50 B.P.	A.D. 850 \pm 50
5	1305 \pm 60 B.P.	A.D. 670 \pm 60
6	1275 \pm 50 B.P.	A.D. 700 \pm 50

Source: Gilliland (1975:257-258).

A close reading of Cushing (1897) reveals some detailed information on stratification, indicating that the bulk of the material recovered is from a "brownish gray peaty marl," with some artifacts coming from above and below this primary zone (Cushing 1897:358). Based on Cushing's (1897:358, 422) description and plan map, along with Gilliland's (1975) comments, it is apparent that structures existed along the shell benches, perhaps around a "water court," as Cushing

suggests. Figure 5-3 reproduces Cushing's (1897:Pl. 31) plan of the "court" with excavation units and generalized profile. Despite Cushing's (1897:357-358) claim that the structures were "pile-dwellings," there is no evidence to support this (Gilliland 1975:30, 32). Some material, resulting from kitchen midden deposition, accumulated in the lowest layers of shell midden and peaty marl. I would suggest that the primary deposit noted above was laid down during a single event, perhaps a natural disaster (i.e., fire or storm) or intentional disposal of the ceremonial paraphernalia. Continued deposition in the uppermost muck deposit reflects reoccupation of the area. This sequence indicates that the deposit containing wooden art objects does not, for the most part, represent deposition over a long period of time as Gilliland (1975:32-33) and Purdy (1991:30) suggest, but rather a singular catastrophic event, perhaps a fire and/or hurricane, during which the houses and temples of the court were buried. It also explains the presence of earlier and later material in the overall assemblage. Cushing (1897:388, 393) describes how many of the figureheads and masks were wrapped or tied, as though they had been in storage or hung on the walls of the temple prior to their interment. The combination of ceremonial artifacts and wet-site preservation make this an exceptionally rare site.

One last problem deserves some special attention, namely the desire of writers to ascribe the Key Marco remains to the contact era Calusa (Brinton in Cushing 1897:433-434; Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941:79; Wardle 1951; Mason 1951; Purdy 1991). If the chronology presented by Gilliland (1975) and Purdy (1991) is accepted, and the boundaries of southern Florida culture areas followed (see Chapter 1), it becomes clear that Key Marco is not Calusa, nor is it within the Caloosahatchee region. Rather, Key Marco is part of the Ten Thousand Islands region and predates the age of European contact (Griffin 1989:195-197).

Key Marco Iconography

As with the other aspects of Glades tradition art already examined, the iconography of Key Marco is dominated by naturalistic imagery. A number of native animals are portrayed realistically in full-figured carving, engraving, and painting. Form and content of Key Marco art compares well with the animals carved and engraved in bone discussed in Chapter 4. Correspondences also exist between the art of Key Marco and the Fort Center carvings and Weeden Island ceramic zoomorphs.

Evaluating the position of the Key Marco assemblage within the Glades tradition has to rely on more than correspondences in particular themes or motifs, but has to rest on overall similarity to earlier Hopewellian patterns of symbolism or those of the Mississippian-era. Artifacts

of personal adornment, illustrated and discussed with similar forms in Chapter 4, indicate that the artists and ritual specialists of the site participated in the widespread style of zoomorphic carving. This carving style persists well into the European contact-era, providing little more than a baseline symbol system that emerges during the Hopewell horizon and coexists with other later developments (see discussions of this phenomena in Chapters 7 and 8). The question then becomes whether or not the ritual paraphernalia and emblem plaques of Key Marco are derived from the arts of the early Glades tradition, essentially a Hopewellian-inspired art and symbol system, or represent local arts that are under the influence of Mississippian-derived styles.

Figureheads

Eleven animal figureheads and figurehead fragments were recovered from Key Marco, and described to some extent by Cushing (1897:388-394). Gilliland (1975:85) notes that five of these are still relatively intact, and I examined these at UM. The wolf, deer, turtle, alligator, and pelican figureheads are illustrated in Figure 5-4. All figureheads depict very naturalistic animals, with detailed painting in multiple colors on each specimen. Cushing (1897:394) has classified these as elements of masks or animal-impersonator costumes, and I would tend to agree with this. Most have holes for attachment of cord, or for fastening skin or cloth

costume elements. In fact, the "bear mask" that Cushing mentions shares attributes of both the figureheads and face masks (1897:389). The bear mask or figurehead does not appear to have survived, though a cast made by Cushing is in the collection of the NMNH-SI. Clark (1995:61-63, Fig. 3-17) provides the first detailed description and illustration of this mask-figurehead.

Along with the five relatively intact figureheads, Cushing (1897:388) mentions six figureheads that are in fragmented condition today, including the bear mask noted above. Additional figureheads include another deer and wolf. Two ears for another deer figurehead are reported to be at NMNH-SI, and the fragmentary remains of another painted wolf figurehead are at NMNH-SI and FLMNH (Gilliland 1975:85, 116). Fragments of osprey, owl, and fish-hawk figureheads are reported to be at FLMNH (Gilliland 1975:85, 116). I examined the osprey figurehead fragments with Merald Clark and we were both impressed with the painted eye still in evidence, as well as the gaping beak with slightly extended tongue (Clark 1995:58-59, Fig. 3-15).

The figurehead most identified with the Key Marco collection is that of the deer (Figures 5-4f and 5-5). Cushing (1897:392) describes this figurehead, which has separately carved ears and distinctive painting in blue, black, and white. Carving is especially detailed in the nose and muzzle, the ear fluting, as well as the large eyes,

which held tortoise-shell disks when originally found. Painted details include a crescent-shaped figure on the forehead and elaborate eye markings, including the radiant winker marks. Recall the similar treatment of the eye in the bone and stone deer carvings discussed in Chapter 4. Two questions arise with regard to the deer figurehead. The first has to do with the sex of the animal portrayed. While Cushing (1897:392, 430) repeatedly describes this as a doe (female), he also notes slight protuberances located above and behind the eyes, with perforations for insertion of antlers. Examination of the piece confirms the fact that this carving intended a male deer. Secondly, how were the ears attached to the figurehead? This question is more complicated, and has been compounded by illustrations of the figurehead. Cushing suggests that the ears, the bases of which are hollow, were transfixed with pegs to which cordage could be attached and tied to holes on the head (1897:392, 429-430). These pegs do not seem to have been recovered, and are perhaps conjecture on Cushing's part. However, to photograph the ears and figurehead, Sawyer placed the head in front of the ears, which had been propped up on a small rise (see Gilliland 1975:Pl. 71). In later photographs and exhibits of the deer figurehead, the ears are shown attached to the top of the head, just behind the eyes (see Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941:80; Dockstader 1962:Pl. 58; Phillips 1973; Gilliland 1975:Pl. 64). In examining the carvings, it

would seem that the ears, the bases of which have four holes spaced equidistant, were attached with cordage through holes in the side of the head. The ears are not tenoned. This arrangement would allow for the ears to be manipulated, replicating the movements of the living deer. This arrangement and explanation supports the assertion that the masks and figureheads were elements of some ritual dance and drama (Cushing 1897:394; Clark 1995:15-20).

Both the alligator and pelican figureheads are beautifully carved and painted. Like the movable ears of the deer figurehead, both the alligator and pelican had movable parts when found. The alligator figure is composed of separate upper and lower jaws, and they appear to have been tied together so they opened as in life (Figures 5-4c and 5-6). No teeth are present, or represented in paint. The alligator is rarely found in the art of southern Florida, with two of the three examples coming from Key Marco. The other example, in bone, is discussed in Chapter 4. It should be noted that the alligator does appear in ritual and mortuary contexts at several sites, including alligator burials at Palmer and Margate-Blount (8BD41) (Bullen and Bullen 1976:44-46; Gypsy Graves, personal communication, 1992). Widmer (1989:175) suggests that in the Glades tradition the alligator or panther may assume the role played by the rattlesnake in SECC ideology. Clark (1995:24-28) has pointed to the similarity between the

alligator figurehead and a crane figurehead recovered at the Pineland site (see Purdy 1991:253). Both had some sort of hinged lower mandible, though the Pineland example consists only of the upper bill and head.

The pelican figurehead is a graceful carving, with black paint delineating the pouch of the bill and features of the wings (Figures 5-4d and 5-7). Dockstader (1961:Pl. 59) identifies this figure as an "albatross," though like the carved bone pin from Key Marco (see Chapter 4), the wood figurehead accentuates the hooked tip and central ridge of the pelican's distinctive bill. Cushing (1897:389) states that fragments of wings were found with the figurehead, and there are perforations and slots for attachment of these appendages.

I have already mentioned the sea turtle figurehead, and its possible identification as a peregrine falcon. The most distinctive aspects of this carving are the protuberant eyes, the elaborate painting around the eyes, and the pronounced beak or bill (Figures 5-4e and 5-8). Cushing originally identified this piece as the figurehead of the "snouted leather-back turtle" (1897:388). Comparison with the Leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) and other marine turtles inhabiting Florida waters suggest that the Hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), with its distinctive "beak," is the best turtle candidate. While images of sea turtles are virtually unknown in the arts of Hopewell and

Weeden Island, it should be noted that skeletal remains of sea turtles have been found at Ohio Hopewell sites (Greber and Ruhl 1989:85).

Other researchers have pointed to the similarities of this figurehead with pop-eyed bird adorns (Luer 1992). Clark (1995:46-58) has argued convincingly that this "turtle" figurehead may represent the peregrine falcon, which is a prominent animal in SECC imagery. Clark (1995:52-58) cites as evidence for this identification the overall similarity in form to the falcon, as well as the conventionalized figures that appear around the figure's eye and throat.

Perhaps the most dramatic figurehead is that of the wolf (Figure 5-4a). With separate ears and dewlaps, the wolf is portrayed in the most violent and aggressive stance this animal can assume. Jaws are wide, teeth bared, ears erect, eyes ablaze. I believe this can be attributed to the general principle mentioned with regard to Hopewellian art, the depiction of the essential quality of an animal by portraying said animal in its most typical pose. Unfortunately the head of the wolf is badly degraded now, with portions of the lower jaw broken and missing.

Of the Key Marco figureheads perhaps the most telling is the diad of deer and bear. These two animals both appear as elements of Hopewellian costume, as well as the principal actors in the Hopewellian symbol system (Willoughby 1917,

1935; Mills 1922:Fig. 68; Greber and Ruhl 1989:277-282; Dragoo and Wray 1964). Neither the deer or bear are included as themes of the SECC, though deer antlers seem to have special significance (Waring and Holder 1945:5; Howard 1968:57; Phillips and Brown 1978:135, 146). Several Ohio Hopewell mortuary sites produced copper-covered wooden headdresses mimicking cervid antlers and reflecting the use of the deer in ritual costume and paraphernalia (Greber and Ruhl 1989:281; Willoughby 1935). The most elaborate of these headdresses was originally identified by Willoughby as representative of the "Great Hare" due to the large ears, though recent reevaluation has labeled this and related imagery that of the male deer. A bone engraving from the Hopewell site depicting a human wearing the deer headdress is illustrated in Figure 2-20b-h, along with a breakdown of the design elements. Interestingly, the deer shaman also wears a disguise that appears to be derived from spoonbill imagery (Willoughby in Greber and Ruhl 1989:249-251). The emblematic representation of the bear's claw is often associated with Hopewellian cervid imagery, or occurs in combination with other symbols (see Figure 2-13b; Greber and Ruhl 1989:281). The Wray figurine from an Ohio mound confirms the use of bear costumes by Hopewellian ritual specialists (Dragoo and Wray 1964). The Wray figurine depicts a human masked by the head and skin of a bear, the figure's right hand holds a human head. Dragoo and Wray

(1964:198-199) suggest the individual depicted is a Hopewell shaman in the guise of his clan or medicine organization performing rites associated with ancestor veneration (hence the human head). The deer and bear figurehead-masks of Key Marco, along with the other animal figureheads, are likely related to similar costumes and performances.

The wolf appears in ceremonial costume in even earlier times, when modified mandibles, skulls, and skins were used as components of Glacial Kame, Adena, and Hopewellian masks or mask-headaddresses (Webb and Baby 1957:61-71; Baby 1956, 1961a). Temporally, Adena is sandwiched between the late Archaic and Hopewell cultures of the central Ohio Valley, and contains human, spoonbill, wolf and associated animal imagery that clearly prefigures the Hopewell horizon discussed in Chapter 2. Dragoo (1976:6-7) notes that it is late Adena contexts that seem to contain ceremonial, burial and symbolic patterns that begin to converge in Hopewellian patterns.

The figureheads of the alligator and pelican are fairly realistic portrayals and have clear parallels in the small bone carvings of animals discussed in Chapter 4. Neither of these animals is prominent in the imagery of the SECC, and have some predecessors in the arts of the Hopewellian horizon (see Weisman 1995:78 for a ceramic alligator adorno from Crystal River). The figure-eight motif surrounding the eye of the alligator figurehead is an unusual feature that

might be related to another elaborate eye motif found in the later arts of the terminal Glades tradition (see the zoomorphic and avian representations with this eye motif in Figures 8-10a, 11, and 15d). Schwehm (1983:77, 112), however, points out that many of the animal effigies of Key Marco, and the Glades in general, have elaborate eye motifs. Recall that several of the effigy plummets of the Hopewell horizon have elaborate figure-eight motifs around their eyes (cf. Figures 3-15g and 3-16a). This figure-eight is a feature of zoomorphic imagery incised on bone by Ohio Hopewell artists (see Willoughby 1917:Pl. 7g-i).

The sea turtle figurehead, if it indeed represents a peregrine falcon or other member of the *Falconidae*, would appear to be strong evidence of stylistic and compositional ties to the SECC. The peregrine falcon, however, appears as an effigy at a number of Ohio Hopewell sites (Willoughby in Greber and Ruhl 1989:206; Shetrone 1926:Fig. 132; Brose et al. 1985:Pl. 47; Mills 1922:Figs. 60, 61). Further, Howard (1968:43-45) suggests that the Mississippian representations of hawks and hawk men is related to earlier Southeastern cultural traditions in which the peregrine falcon is associated with prowess in warfare and hunting. Strong (1989:219-220), in his analysis of Mississippian bird-man imagery, suggests that the naturalistic falcon represents a generalized protective presence, but the meaning narrows with the addition of more specific anthropomorphic imagery.

This anthropomorphic element exists in some of the Key Marco material, but certainly not in the falcon (or turtle) figurehead considered here. Again, it is possible that the Key Marco and SECC images of hawks or falcons derived from the earlier (and broader) symbol set of the Hopewellian horizon, where the peregrine falcon appears complete with is unusual markings. Cushing (1897:389) felt the figureheads were the animal personae of the human masks, which were linked by similar painted designs. There is an anthropomorphic mask that does share similarities with the turtle or falcon figurehead, most notably the design under the eye and the series of triangular figures (Gilliland 1975:Pl. 50). The relationship between the designs painted on the masks and figureheads remains tenuous, but may be derived from animal impersonator costumes of the Hopewellian horizon, considering the lack of correspondence between the masks and SECC hawk-man costumes.

Masks

Cushing (1897:388-394; Gilliland 1975:80, 85, Pls. 39-58) recovered approximately fifteen wooden face masks representing humans and human-like animals. Clark (1995:114-184) has prepared a detailed catalog and study of the Key Marco masks, and has attempted to match fragmentary specimens with the watercolor paintings made by Wells Sawyer. For this reason I will confine my remarks to some

observations on the masks and their relationship to other anthropomorphic mask usage in the Southeast.

Cushing (1897:388) describes the general features of the face masks, noting that they are life-size, hollow, with holes for attachment of ornaments, and other holes to allow for the masks to be worn. The masks were painted with several colors, and a variety of motifs, and many had inlaid shell eyes. It should be noted that artifacts resembling the "shell mask eyes" described by Gilliland (1975:184) have been found at other southern Florida sites (Goggin and Sommer 1949:63-64; Wheeler 1992b:9). Figures 5-9 and 5-10 illustrate several of the Key Marco masks. Most masks appear to portray the human face, though some are grossly exaggerated, and one specimen has an animal's ears and may portray a "wild-cat" (Cushing 1897:393). Cushing (1897:388) believed that the masks and figureheads were symbolically related by painted designs they shared. For example, Cushing (1897:388-389) claimed a correspondence between the painting found on the wolf figurehead and one of the masks, suggesting that they represent the two personae, animal and human, of the wolf-god. Similar mask associations were described for the bear, turtle, pelican, and deer figureheads (Cushing 1897). Cushing also identified other masks as representations of the "Bat-Man God" and "Cormorant Man." The veracity of Cushing's reconstruction of the meaning and the relationships between masks and figureheads

is uncertain, though some similarities can be noted. Many of the masks do not appear to correspond to the figureheads, though seem to have prominent zoomorphic features.

The rarity of human portrayals in the art of southern Florida makes the Key Marco face masks a unique collection. Masks are known principally from SECC sites, where they occur as small shell or copper masks, smaller than life-size. A wooden mask with deer antlers from Spiro, a SECC site in Oklahoma, is life-size, and attests to the widespread use of masks in the Southeast and Midwest (Hamilton et al. 1974:179). As noted in Chapter 4, human imagery is rare in Glades tradition art, especially that predating the Mississippian horizon. This may be due to the scarcity of sites producing the remains of temple structures, or wet sites in general where wooden face masks might be preserved. It should be noted that, as Cushing (1897) suggests, the masks combine elements of animal and human imagery. This feature characterizes other objects from Key Marco.

In conjunction with her discussion of cultural relationships, Gilliland (1975:42) makes some interesting comments on the developmental background of the Key Marco art style, particularly regarding the carved and painted wooden masks. Gilliland (1975) postulates that the masks of Key Marco and the SECC may share the "Long Nosed God" masks as a common progenitor (Figure 5-11). Williams and Goggin

(1956), in their study of Long Nosed God masks, indicate that these artifacts slightly antedate the full-blown Southern Cult or SECC. Long Nosed God masks are known in shell and copper from sites primarily in the Southeast, though examples from the Midwest and Florida are also known. The Florida occurrences of the copper Long Nosed God masks are at sites in the St. Johns area, where they are associated with late Weeden Island and Mississippian artifacts (Moore 1894, 1895). It is believed that the Long Nosed God is manifested in SECC art in the copper repoussé depictions of masked dancers. Whatever the relationship of the Key Marco masks and those of the Long Nosed God, the similarity should be kept in mind. If the earlier dates for the site are accepted, it is possible that the Key Marco masks provide an inspiration for the Long Nosed God masks and other human masks of the SECC. The Key Marco masks are more varied and flamboyant than the later SECC forms, making it likely that they predate the Long Nosed God variety.

Hopewellian and Weeden Island art systems have few precedents for human face masks of any size. Large human masks of sandstone and limestone appear in the enigmatic "Cole" or "Intrusive Mound Culture" of Ohio and neighboring areas (with relationships to Hopewell and later developments). One such mask is in the collection of the Harn Museum of Art, University of Florida, and was recently on exhibit (Scott n.d.; also see Douglas and d'Harnoncourt

1941:57; Coe 1977:65; Squier and Davis 1848:250-251; Dockstader 1961:Pls. 19 and 50; Morgan 1952:93). Anthropomorphic ceramic effigies of the Weeden Island culture were often ritually broken prior to interment, with special effort made to preserve the face or head of the effigy. Many more fragmentary effigy heads are known than complete effigies, suggesting some special significance to the head and face. Descriptions of these artifacts in the subsequent chapter note that the broken effigy heads resemble death masks. Some of the human effigies of Weeden Island, like those of Hopewell, depict headdresses and animal costumes, suggesting the existence of these (see Figures 6-19a-b, d-e and 6-20e). Both the Hopewellian and Weeden Island human face masks and artifacts may be precedents to the wooden masks of Key Marco.

The use of masks is documented for the contact era natives of southern Florida, including the Calusa and Tequesta. Feliciano López, Spanish missionary to the Calusa in A.D. 1697, reports on the storage of masks in a temple-mound complex (Hann 1991:159-160). Almost one hundred years prior to this, Juan Rogel, a missionary to the Calusa, documented the same sort of "temple of idols," and actually witnessed the use of the "ugly masks" in a ritual (Hann 1991:287). Escalante Fontaneda, a young Spanish captive among the Florida Indians, describes four major ceremonials, the last of which involves the shamanic use of animal masks

and disguises (Hann 1991:316; Worth 1995:344). Escalante Fontaneda's description gives most credence to Cushing's (1897) assertions that the masks of Key Marco had animalistic qualities, as the shamans described in the ethnohistoric accounts clearly were animal impersonators. Another belief of the contact era Calusa may be related to the mutilation of some of the Key Marco masks. Escalante Fontaneda (in Worth 1995:344) reports that human sacrifices were made to a deity who ate human eyes. Three of the human face masks have broken eyes, a condition that appears to have resulted from intentional mutilation of the masks. Considering the other correspondences between the Key Marco masks and the contact era usage of masks, it is possible that the anthropomorphic masks were involved in rituals related to this eye-eating god (Clark 1995:121-123). There does appear to be further confirmation of the association of the masks and the animal totems or gods of the southern Florida Natives (Alaña in Hann 1991:422-423).

Anthropomorphic Carvings

Two small carvings were intended to depict humans. One figurine is crude and incomplete, but has a distinctively human profile. The other figurine is described by Cushing as a "little wooden doll, representing a round-faced woman wearing a sort of cloak of square tunic" (1897:387). These figurines are illustrated in Figure 7-19f-g along with other anthropomorphic carvings. It is also possible that this

latter figure is recumbent on a board or platform. Comparison of these two human figurines to other human images in wood and ceramics is revealing. They appear to be unlike the wooden idols found in the region around Lake Okeechobee (see Chapter 7), or the mortuary portrait urns of Weeden Island (see Chapter 6). They are most similar to the solid ceramic images of males and females associated with Hopewell art (see Chapter 2) and the little wooden carving found by Tallant (see Figure 6-14). This similarity helps support the contention that the Key Marco site is earlier, and closer in age to the Hopewellian horizon already described for Florida art.

Perhaps the best known carving recovered at Key Marco is the feline figurine, apparently found near the little female statuette (Cushing 1897:387; Gilliland 1975:116, Pls. 69-70). This carving is a small, finely finished and highly polished sculpture and combines animal and human elements (Figure 5-12). Cushing notes that the posture of the feline is "manlike," suggesting that this is a human in the guise of a panther (or similar cat). It is also possible that the anthropomorphic qualities of this piece reflect shamanistic beliefs, or other ideas about the relationship or humans and animals. Recall that a similar anthropomorphism was noted in the zoomorphic art of Weeden Island (see Chapter 6). The posture of the feline figurine is not unique, and a similar kneeling pose with arms extending to the knees is found in

the human idols or effigies discussed in Chapter 7. In fact, the kneeling human idol from Palm Hammock (8GL30) is wearing a tight-fitting cap with cat-like ears (see Figure 7-20). Like the human-animal masks, the feline figurine represents a transition in Glades tradition art, from exclusively zoomorphic portrayals to images that combines animal and human qualities.

The panther or feline would appear to be a minor theme in the arts of Hopewell and Weeden Island, where the cat appears on effigy pipes, incised bone, and ceramic effigies, respectively. As noted in the following chapter the feline is rather rare in Weeden Island art and only occurs on a few effigies from Kolomoki (see Figure 6-7). The feline is present in the effigy carvings of Fort Center (see Figures 3-5b and 3-8c-d) and is also evidenced in a small eroded wood carving in the collection of Rollins College, Winter Park. The panther or underwater panther appears in the SECC-related art of Spiro, Oklahoma, but is rare in other parts of the Mississippian Southeast (Howard 1968:53-57; Phillips and Brown 1978:140-143, 1984:Pls. 223-228). In this context feline traits (i.e., bodies or heads) are merged with hawk and human imagery with monstrous results. Howard (1968:Fig. 16a) cites one example that he identifies as a naturalistic portrayal of a panther in Mississippian style. Comparison with the Hopewellian incised bone renditions of panthers and felines led Phillips and Brown

(1978:158-161) to classify this gorget as a "Fairfield" style piece, dating to the late Hopewellian horizon (cf. Willoughby 1917:Pl. 8c).

The Key Marco feline figurine has eyes adorned with a tri-forked variant of the "forked eye" motif most often associated with SECC imagery. Waring and Holder (1945:4) and Howard (1968:37) indicate that the forked eye usually signifies the hawk or hawk-man dancers, and apparently derives from the distinctive markings found on members of the genus *Falconidae*. Variants of the forked eye motif appear on other composite creatures and as design isolates. The forked eye, per se, does not appear to be an element of Hopewellian or Weeden Island art, nor does it appear in other objects of the Glades tradition. It could be derived from Hopewellian engraved bone depictions of ocelots and other felines, and some birds, where banding patterns and facial markings are carefully reproduced from life (Greber and Ruhl 1989:Fig. 6.56; Phillips and Brown 1978:160, 161).

Personal Ornaments

Cushing (1897:374-378) recovered numerous articles of personal adornment, including earspools, beads, bone pins, as well as wooden pins. While bone pins are most commonly recovered from Florida sites, there is no reason to believe that carved wood pins were not as common. The small, carved bone ornaments and tools from the site were described in Chapter 4. One fragmentary wood pin from Key Marco is

carved to represent a bird (Gilliland 1975:Pl. 72b). In many ways this carving is similar to the zoomorphic bone pins described in Chapter 4. Another more complete wood pin with bird motif was found at Hontoon Island (Purdy 1991:121).

Zoomorphic Tool Handles

Cushing recovered a large number of tool handles at Key Marco (1897:367-371; Gilliland 1975:133-137, Pls. 75, 83, 84, 88), a few of which are ornamented with full-round, bas-relief or incised animal images (Figure 5-13). Cushing (1897:369) believed that the animals were involved in a mnemonic relationship with the tools they decorated, noting that a gnawing mouse surmounted the handle of a shell adze, and metaphorically denoted the "gnawing" or "nibbling" behavior of the tool when applied to wood (Figure 5-13a). This is a rather sophisticated argument, and is borne out to one degree or another in examining the zoomorphic tool handles. Another "nibbling" animal is a deer, carved on the handle of a shark tooth knife (Figure 5-13c).

A delicate carving of a hare or rabbit surmounts the basal end of a single-hole atlatl (see Figure 5-13b), and the tail of this creature forms the spur or trigger of the weapon (Gilliland 1975:Pl. 83). The opposite or handle end of the atlatl is ornamented with a delicate scroll or volute. Cushing (1897:371-372) notes that the rabbit is "thumping," a characteristic behavior of the animal. I have

already noted in Chapter 4 that animals in Hopewell and Glades tradition art are often depicted in poses that embody or typify the creatures. In examining this artifact, I found great similarity between the rabbit carving and the carved bone and antler animals discussed in Chapter 4, especially in the details of the rabbit's limbs, which even include toes.

Willoughby (1935) claimed to identify rabbit imagery in Hopewell art and further suggested this was a representation of "Michabo the Great Hare," the Algonquin culture hero. Greber and Ruhl (1989:277) have reevaluated Willoughby's identification for the Hopewell specimens, interpreting the images as those of the deer. Despite this, the Key Marco rabbit does have correspondences to the Algonquin myths that Willoughby (1935) cites. Leland (1884:213-222) relates the tale in which the magician rabbit continually confounds the wild cat who is trying to kill him. In one incident the wild cat travels in a spiral path around the rabbit's house. Leland (1884:215) suggests some special significance to the volute or spiral form, which appears in the art and myth of the Algonquins on numerous occasions. In order to escape the wild cat, rabbit tramples the ground and sits on the end of an upright spruce branch. This magic creates an illusion that protects rabbit and fools his enemy. In this story we can find all the elements represented in the Key Marco atlatl--the rabbit on the end of a stick, the thumping

behavior to trample the ground, and the volute to symbolize the wild cat and his path. The opposition of the rabbit and the volute at either end of the weapon could embody this conflict, and its eventual resolution through magic.

Hall (1977:504-505) suggests that archaeological correlates of the contact era calumet ceremony can be found in Hopewell platform pipes and effigy atlatls, like the one from Key Marco. In this sense, the atlatl is a "ritual weapon" involved in the process of establishing peaceful exchange relations with individuals or groups who are potential enemies. The Key Marco atlatl could certainly fit within Hall's cognitive model, especially if there is an association with the Algonquin myths of Michabo, the trickster rabbit.

The most common zoöomorphic device associated with tool handles appears to be an "eye," often protruding from the handle just above the tenoned socket attachment where the handle curves. Cushing (1897:369) believed some of these represented serpents, though most lack enough detail to make this assignment. The placement of the eyes, however, gives the entire implement a zoomorphic appearance, and these eyes are often found on handles with other effigies. As Hall (1979:261-262) suggests, the use of the eye motif may be related to representations of the indwelling soul. Apparently such usage dates back to the Adena culture, and certainly continued well into the Mississippian horizon.

The Calusa of southwestern Florida believed in three souls, one visible in cast shadows, one visible in reflections, and one that resides in the pupil of the eye (Rogel in Hann 1991:237-238). This last soul remained with the body after death. It is possible, in the anthropomorphic cosmos of the Florida Natives, that the ritual implements described above were in a sense "alive," possessed of a soul.

The zoöomorphic tool handles from Key Marco and Tick Island (see below and Figure 5-19) appear to be directly related to the bone animal carvings discussed in Chapter 4. The appearance of the animals as ornaments on tool handles stored in painted boxes within in temples or priest's quarters suggests they may be directly related to the larger carvings of Fort Center and Key Marco. The zoöomorphic tool handles probably held the shell tool bits used in fine detail carving needed to sculpt the fine wooden effigies of these sites.

Painted Boards, Lids or Box Sides

Cushing recovered several painted boards, at least two of which served as box lids or sides. One of these had the painted figure of a kneeling doe, though the pigmented has faded and is indistinguishable today (Cushing 1897:385; Gilliland 1975:142). The box with the doe also had painted bowknots, which Cushing felt symbolically bound the box together.

Another box lid was painted with the figure of a horned alligator (Cushing 1897:385; Gilliland 1975:Pl. 63). Figure 5-14 illustrates the painted alligator box lid. The painted figures on these boxes faced inward, perhaps conveying their special powers to the objects contained in the box, which included a set of carving tools and the zoöomorphic tool handles described above (Cushing 1897:385). Cushing notes that the painting of the alligator employs perspective, obvious in the manner in which the legs and scales of the alligator are rendered. Notable aspects of the alligator painting include the horns, mentioned above, as well as the "figure-eight" eye, which appears in late and terminal Glades tradition art (see Chapter 8). The box sides associated with the horned alligator lid are both painted with an unusual figure, which Gilliland (1975:142) describes as a cowrie shell. Again, the horn designates the alligator as somehow special, distinct from the usual variety found in rivers and swamps. SECC imagery is replete with images of horned or antlered serpents, and it is possible the Key Marco example is related to this figure (cf. Figure 5-1, fifth row; Howard 1968:52). Howard (1968:49-57) reviews ethnographic information on the horned or antlered serpent (usually a rattlesnake) and underwater panther, concluding that this creature is widespread in the belief systems of Southeastern Indians. Widmer (1989:175) suggests that the horned alligator (or alligators and panthers in general?) of

Key Marco is the southern Florida variant of the antlered or horned rattlesnake of the SECC. Like other composite animals of the SECC, ethnographic information agrees on the importance of the horned serpent and its role in controlling or influencing weather, but are ambiguous about the association of the animal with peaceful (animal or plant fertility) or martial activities. Interestingly, there appears to be a Hopewellian predecessor to the horned serpent, matching closely with the description of the underwater panther given by Howard (1968:53-54). This beast is depicted in a boatstone artifact of red slate excavated at the Turner earthworks site in Ohio (Willoughby 1922:70-71; Brose et al. 1985:Pl. 43; Kopper 1986:132).

Cushing (1897:384-385) felt the crested bird painted on a small slat of wood was one of the most sacred objects found at Key Marco (Figure 5-15). This crested figure was originally painted in black, white, and blue, though only the black pigment is still visible. Gilliland (1975:75) cites a correspondence from Alexander Wetmore, a Smithsonian ornithologist, who identifies the image as that of a large woodpecker, based on details of the feet and bill. Cushing (1897:384) originally identified this as a jay or kingfisher, though notes its possible identification as an ivory-billed woodpecker. A more recent study confirms the bird depicted is actually an ivory-billed woodpecker (Gore 1995).

A notable feature of the woodpecker painting is the manner of portraying feathers. Note that nested diagonal lines, and finely painted "feathered" tick marks are combined to delineate feathers (see Figure 5-15). I suggest in Chapter 7 that several geometric forms, similar to those of the woodpecker painting, are used in the peninsular geometric style of bone carving to depict stylized feathers. Several other unusual features of this painting include the crudely executed painting in white pigment of a raccoon or similar mammal in the talons of the crested woodpecker; the four circlets emerging from the bird's open bill; and the odd figure that appears along the bird's back. Cushing (1897:384-385) suggests this is a double-bladed paddle, demonstrative of the dominion of the "jay" or "kingfisher" over sea and island. The exact identification of this figure is uncertain, though it may be a paddle, atlatl or implement of some kind. As Cushing (1897:385) suggests, the four circular figures emerging from the bird's open mouth may be "word-signs," or symbols of the distinctive call made by the pileated or ivory-billed woodpecker. The crested bird or woodpecker is a common element of SECC imagery, and some representations are shown with circular and/or tongue-like figures emerging from their gaping bills (Strong 1989:Fig. 43, 44; Moore 1905a:118). The painting of the small mammal in the clutches of the woodpecker is rather anomalous, considering the normal meal of most large

woodpeckers is some form of grub or worm. Considering these unusual attributes it is possible to conclude that the woodpecker, like the other animal carvings and paintings of Key Marco (recall the anthropomorphic cat figurine), are characters in a mythological or spiritual pantheon. Unlike the Weeden Island animals, which Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984) describes as naturally ambiguous, the Key Marco animals have paradoxical qualities incorporated artistically.

Of the Key Marco animal representations the crested bird painting is closest in theme and composition to SECC imagery. Parallels in Hopewellian and Weeden Island art are not strong, though crested birds appear in effigy pipes and ceramic effigies, respectively. Of course, the small tenoned woodpecker effigy from Fort Center (see Figure 3-7a) should be mentioned as a possible ancestor to the Key Marco painting. Howard (1968:45-47) indicates general agreement among ethnographic sources of the Southeast that associate various woodpecker species with warfare. The association apparently arises from the red crest, which replicates the bloody head of a scalped warrior. This may well be the intended meaning of the Key Marco woodpecker painting, the composition of which exhibits several ambiguous features, including the double-bladed paddle or atlatl and raccoon prey, both of which may signify aggression or warfare.

As Cushing (1897) suggested, there would appear to be some interrelation among the animals depicted in the various forms found at Key Marco. Alaña gives a detailed description of the temples and cemeteries, and the principal "idols" of the natives residing near present-day Miami, circa A.D. 1743:

The principal one is a board sheathed in deerskin with its poorly formed image of a fish that looks like the barracuda and the other figures like tongues. The other idol, which is the God of the cemetery, the theater of their most visible superstitions, was a head of a bird, sculptured in pine.... In the said church they had the most ugly mask destined for the festivals of the principal idol, which was placed there on top of a table or altar. An they call it *sipi* or *sipil*. We also saw a large log which, on certain days, they adorn with flowers and feathers and celebrate, at the foot of which some silver had been buried.... (in Hann 1991:422)

There seems to be a strong correspondence between the material of Key Marco and this description of the contact era Florida Indians--indicating a possible relationship between the masks and the painted and carved boards.

Ceremonial Tablets and Plaques

The boards with thigh bone designs illustrated in Figure 5-2, as mentioned above, may be related to the death motifs of the SECC. Dickinson (in Andrews and Andrews 1945:59-61) described an elaborate ritual cycle among the 17th century Ais, noting the use of a striped pole with carved image of a human leg. The thigh bone plaques of Key Marco and Belle Glade may, in fact, be archaeological examples of the pole described by Dickinson. The

relationship between human long bones and shamanic ritual has a powerful metaphoric, if not literal, relationship to death and mortuary iconography. As Lommel (1967:54, 56-57, 70-71, 100) notes, the shaman is imbued with the power over death, an ability to reconstruct himself and others from the defleshed skeleton. Eliade (1964:53-58) further suggests that magical death and symbolic dismemberment are associated with the initiatory rites of becoming a shaman.

In addition to the "mortuary boards," Cushing found numerous examples of tenoned ceremonial tablets carved of wood at Key Marco (1897:381-384; Gilliland 1975:75, 80, Pl. 31-33, 35-38; Allerton et al. 1984:49). Figure 5-16 is an ink illustration of the large tenoned tablets shown along with the smaller ceremonial tablets of metal. Each tablet is carved of one wooden plank, with a waist or in-cut area dividing the object into two halves. The upper half is often spatulate, with the lower half rectangular. A small tenon at one end may have served to mount the tablets on posts or structures. Cushing (1897:383) suggests these are "head-tablets" or "ancestral tablets." Perhaps the most informative of these tablets was a rather large specimen (Figure 5-16, no. 11), of typical morphology, but painted with what may be a stylized duck, though Cushing felt this was an alligator or caiman (Cushing 1897:427). Gilliland (1975:75) identifies this painted tablet as a spoonbill duck. Cushing (1897:Pl. 34) compared these wood tablets

with the small limestone amulet he recovered from a neighboring key (Gilliland 1975:26). These objects are discussed in Chapter 2, along with the duck effigy pendants, and the correspondence in forms is quite important in documenting the continuum of avian imagery in southern Florida.

Figure 5-17 illustrates two small tenoned tablets. Of the tablets found by Cushing these are most similar to the metal ceremonial tablets cataloged by Allerton et al. (1984), and discussed in Chapter 8. One of these tablets, bearing an incised figure of a wheeling dolphin, diverges from the typical tablet morphology. Note that the upper portion is not in-cut, but has a carved representation of a roseate spoonbill or duck's head, with eyes on either side and medial line down the bill. A border, separated from the head by two L-shaped cut-outs, is ornamented with geometric engraving. The lower, tenoned portion of the tablet is decorated with the dolphin image. The similarity of this dolphin to other aquatic beings has been discussed in Chapter 4. Additional examples of engraved wooden tablets were reported by Fewkes (1928) from the area along the Caloosahatchee River. Perhaps the most notable feature of the more complete wood tablet reported by Fewkes is the reverse of this piece, which is ornamented with incised knot and cord motifs formed into a series of rectilinear guilloches (see Figure 9-3f). Like the Key Marco specimen,

and the metal tablets, these woodcarvings have nested rectangles, medial lines, teardrop-shaped eyes(?), and circle or cross-and-circle design elements. All are tenoned.

The large plaques discussed above may be derived from the carved effigy forms known from Fort Center (see Chapter 3). Like the tenoned effigies of Fort Center, which were designed to be fitted into posts, the Key Marco plaques were intended for display. A correspondence can also be found in the pedestaled effigies of Weeden Island. In all three cases the display of roseate spoonbill imagery is involved. The best evidence that the tenoned plaques of Key Marco evolved from Fort Center tenoned and post effigies is in a fragmentary specimen from Belle Glade, which combines a tenoned plaque with naturalistic bird effigy (Figure 5-18d). It would appear that the plaques, regardless of their relationship with the Fort Center effigies, represent spoonbill or duck imagery, certainly related to that described in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 and derived from the Hopewellian horizon corpus of symbols.

Belle Glade

As mentioned above, some of the Key Marco artifacts have corollaries at the Belle Glade (8PB40, 8PB41) site. Belle Glade is a major mound and midden complex on the southeastern shore of Lake Okeechobee. Components of this site were excavated during the federal relief programs of

the 1930s (Stirling 1935), and the project is summarized by Willey (1949a). Few notes survived from the WPA project, though a large collection of artifacts now resides at the NMNH-SI, and several of these objects have been exhibited at the Lawrence Will Museum in Belle Glade.

Among the carved wooden objects recovered from the muck layer of the burial mound (8PB41) are several bird head and wing images, similar in form to the figureheads of Key Marco (Figure 5-18a-c). Willey (1949a:53-59) describes numerous wood carvings, including utilitarian and decorative objects. Six zoomorphic woodcarvings portray the heads of birds, a wing fragment, and the fragmentary remains of another bipartite tenoned tablet. Most notable in this collection is the head of a crested duck, possibly part of a figurehead like those found at Key Marco (Figure 5-18c). The other three bird heads, including two "bird-of-prey" carvings and a shorebird, also may have been figureheads. At least one specimen appears to be a vulture.

An interesting, though fragmented, wooden artifact from Belle Glade appears to be a variant of the ceremonial tablets described above (Figure 5-18d). The fragmentary condition prevented Allerton et al. (1984) from including this specimen in their catalog of ceremonial tablets, though Willey (1949a:57) recognizes the morphological similarities of this piece with other tablets or plaques. In this case only the upper portion remains, with incised concentric D-

shaped figures and the remnants of three center connecting pieces. An unusual feature is the remains of bird legs at the top of the specimen. Apparently, a carved bird surmounted the upper portion. The association of ceremonial tablets with avian or zoöomorphic imagery is a critical key in understanding these forms.

Willey (1949a:44, Pl. 9f) also reports that the excavations at Belle Glade produced the remains of two antler headdress. This is important since it confirms a widespread use of deer costumes in Glades tradition ritual. Recall that antler headdresses have been recovered from a number of Hopewellian burial mounds in Ohio and Illinois. The antler headdress from Belle Glade parallels the discoveries of carved wooden antler replicas at Fort Center (see Chapter 3) and the wooden deer figureheads of Key Marco.

Tick Island

A zoöomorphic wooden tool handle recovered from Tick Island (8VO24) conforms to the naturalistic Key Marco style. The carving has an L-shape, with the neck and head of a vulture in the clutches of a large raptorial bird (Figure 5-19). Schwehm (1983:96-98) notes the naturalism of the vulture's eye, open beak and distressed pose. Benson (1967b:179) suggests that this tenoned carving functioned as the decorative end of a ceremonial staff. This explanation has been reiterated by Schwehm (1983:96) and Purdy

(1991:228-229). Comparison of the vulture carving with the tool handles of Key Marco indicates that it is, in fact, another zoöomorphic tool handle. The tenoned portion was probably outfitted with a antler socket that would have held a small shell blade.

Vulture imagery is apparently a feature of Hopewellian and Weeden Island symbolism, though does not figure prominently in the symbol systems of the SECC. Vultures appear on Hopewell effigy pipes, in the effigy carvings of Fort Center, on Weeden Island vessels (discussed in Chapter 6), and in antler at the Margate-Blount (8BD41) site (discussed in Chapter 7). In many cases the vulture appears with other animal effigies, either serpents, bears or dogs, and other birds. This suggests that the vulture may have served as an associate or "helper" on several levels of meaning.

Key Marco and the Glades Tradition

The carved and painted objects of Key Marco allow for a special look at Glades tradition art. Regardless of the temporal placement of the assemblage, the artifacts represent the remains of a ceremonial building or group of buildings, probably the temple and shaman priest's dwelling. The masks and figureheads point to some ritual performance, the likes of which are not completely replicated at any other site. Other sites like Fort Center and Belle Glade do, however, have similar elements of ritual paraphernalia.

The similarity of the animals portrayed at Key Marco with those described in Chapter 1 for the Hopewellian cultures of the Midwest, suggest this basic pattern of Hopewell ceremonialism is in evidence. Primary animal figures include the deer and bear, both of which occur as elements of costume or disguise. The avian imagery of Hopewell and Weeden Island is also prolific at Key Marco, including costume components, as well as other carved and painted representations. The deer seems to have retained its significance well into the contact era, where it appears in effigy, mounted on a post, among the Timucua (Le Moyne in Hulton 1977:150).

The naturalistic animal portrayals link the Key Marco collection with the other early Glades tradition and Hopewellian styles discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Examples of decorated bone pins with animal carvings are exactly like those of the "osseous bestiary," and were discussed with these artifacts in Chapter 4. The Key Marco animals are those represented elsewhere in southern Florida, and would appear to be derived iconographically and stylistically from the Hopewellian-influenced incipient Glades tradition. Cushing's suggestion that some of the animal carvings exist in metaphoric relationships with the tools they ornament is possibly a continuation of the mode of portrayal described for Hopewell and Hopewell-derived art. In this case the animals were depicted in those poses most typifying their

species. There are also distinct similarities with Weeden Island art, especially in the anthropomorphic and ambiguous portrayals of some animals. This feature suggests some added significance, above the original Hopewellian animal symbolism, and reflects a movement toward Mississippian art. SECC art often figures ambiguous images, with monsters, human-animal beings, and esoteric themes (Knight 1989).

Regarding the placement of the Key Marco assemblage, it would appear that the basic pattern reflects that documented for Hopewell (Greber and Ruhl 1989). This pattern is widespread throughout Florida following the Hopewellian horizon discussed in Chapter 2, and is manifested in both the Weeden Island and Glades traditions. The discussion presented above was designed to provide more than a comparison of Key Marco and SECC themes and motifs, and demonstrate that the pattern or system reflected in the wood carvings is principally that of Hopewell, with some derived characteristics. These derived characteristics parallel the usual developments seen in the small bone animal carvings described in Chapter 4. The basic patterns and symbol systems introduced during the Hopewell horizon are elaborated upon and reinterpreted in terms of the earlier pre-Glades styles of bone and antler carving. This is likely the source of non-Hopewellian imagery found at Key Marco. Some of the Key Marco themes and motifs (i.e., thigh bone plaques, crested woodpecker) prefigure the

Mississippian era SECC, just as some of the motifs and themes of Hopewell art prefigure the SECC (i.e., human hands, composite "underwater panther" being).



Figure 5-1. SECC themes and motifs (adapted from Waring and Holder 1945). The Key Marco baton is sixth in from left, third row down, and the crested woodpecker is third in from left, fourth row down.

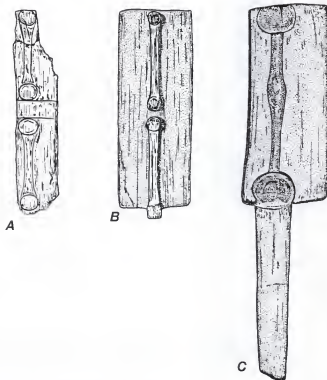


Figure 5-2. Mortuary plaques.
a-b, Key Marco; c, Belle Glade.
All to scale: a, 46 cm; c, 1.16 m.

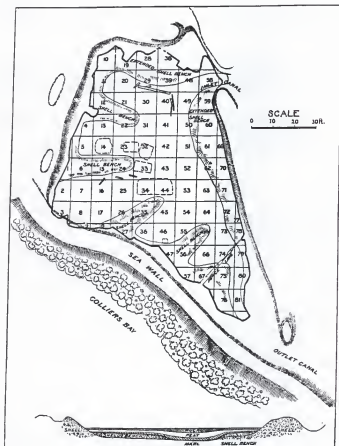


Figure 5-3. Plan of "Court of the Pile Dwellers" (from Cushing 1897:Pl. XXXI). Note excavation units and cross-section at bottom of figure.

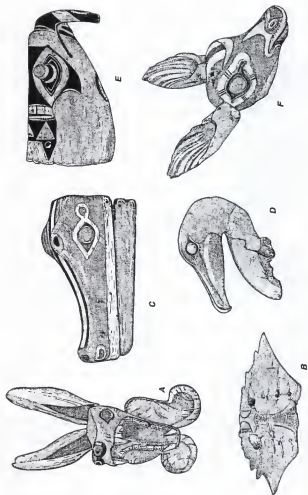


Figure 5-4. Wooden figureheads. a, wolf figurehead (after Cushing 1897:XXIII; and Gilliland 1975:Pl. 64); b, crab effigy, ventral surface (after Gilliland 1975:Pl. 73); c, alligator figurehead, UM 40708; d, pelican figurehead, UM 40709; e, sea turtle figurehead, UM 40715; f, deer figurehead, UM 40707. All to scale: c, 25.0 cm; e, 16.8 cm.

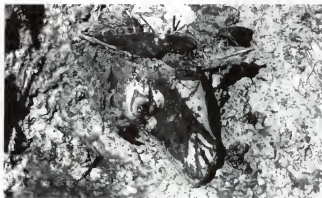
**a****b**

Figure 5-5. Deer figurehead. a, field photograph; b, figurehead *in situ* (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution). Note delicate painting and perforations for cordage.



Figure 5-6. Alligator figurehead, UM 40718. Reproduced with permission, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.



Figure 5-7. Pelican figurehead, UM 40708. Reproduced with permission, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.



Figure 5-8. Sea turtle or peregrine falcon figurehead, UM 40715. Reproduced with permission, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

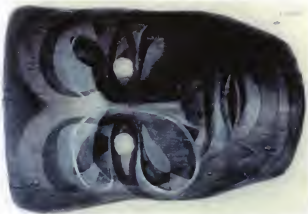


Figure 5-9. Painted masks. Watercolors by Wells Sawyer (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution).

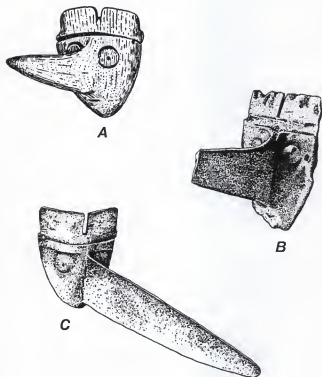


Figure 5-10. Long Nosed God masks. a, Rogana, Tennessee, shell; b, Big Mound, Missouri, copper; c, Gahagan Mound, Louisiana, copper (adapted from Williams and Goggin 1956:33, 10, 27).



Figure 5-11. Feline figurine, 15.0 cm. Reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution.

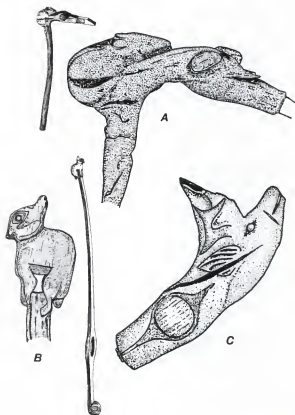


Figure 5-12. Zoöomorphic tool handles. a, adze handle with mouse effigy, wood, FLMNH A5738; b, atlatl handle with rabbit effigy, wood, UM 40609 (some drawings from Cushing 1897:Pl. XXXII); c, deer effigy knife handle, wood (redrawn from photos on file, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History). Detail drawings to scale: a, mouse is 6.0 cm; b, rabbit is 3.9 cm..



Figure 5-13. "Horned" alligator box lid, pigment on wood, 19.7 cm. Watercolor by Wells Sawyer (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution).



Figure 5-14. Crested woodpecker, pigment on wood, 40.6 cm. Watercolor by Wells Sawyer (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution).

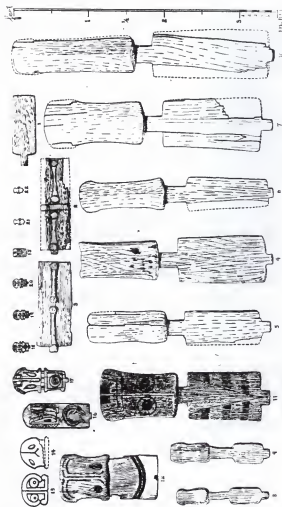


Figure 5-15. Tenoned ceremonial tablets, wood. Numbers 18-22 are metal ceremonial tablets, 15 is a stone tablet, and 12-14 are currently unknown, though may have been from Key Marco. Ink drawing dating to the late 19th century (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution).



Figure 5-16. Stylized duck and roseate spoonbill tablets or amulets, wood. Watercolors by Wells Sawyer (reproduced with permission, Smithsonian Institution).

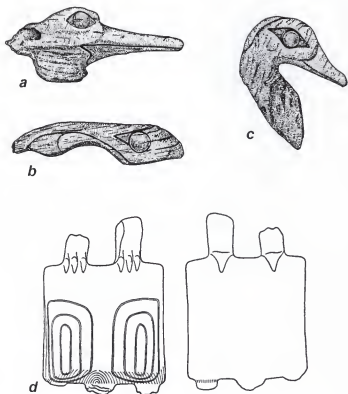


Figure 5-17. Wood carvings, Belle Glade (after Stirling 1935:Pl. 1; and Willey 1949b:55).



Figure 5-18. Vulture effigy tool handle, Tick Island, 12.7 cm (after Benson 1967b).

CHAPTER 6 WEEDEN ISLAND AND THE GLADES TRADITION

The ceramic arts of the Weeden Island culture represent the second major artistic trajectory borne out of the Hopewellian horizon described in Chapter 2. Similarities between the Weeden Island and the Glades tradition include a like corpus of animals from which symbolic expression is drawn, as well as a corporate aspect to much of the art. Weeden Island potters designed some effigy vessels to be exhibited on posts like the wood carvings of Fort Center. Differences between the two artistic traditions include primary reliance on distinct media--Weeden Island art is ceramic, while Glades tradition art is of antler, bone and wood. Lacking from Weeden Island contexts is the personal element of Glades art known from the small bone carvings described in Chapter 4, as well as the type of ceremonial paraphernalia like that known from Key Marco. One additional difference on an iconographic level is a Weeden Island interest in human imagery, since the human form is virtually absent from Glades tradition art. The general correspondences, with some major differences, make comparison of the Weeden Island and Glades arts of interest.

The goal of this chapter is to document the common origin of the Weeden Island and Glades traditions in the

earlier Hopewellian horizon. Also, the imagery of Weeden Island closely parallels that found in the Glades tradition, suggesting that comparison of motifs, themes and overall art systems may aid in better modelling and interpretation of both art trajectories.

Weeden Island Culture

Milanich et al. (1984) have provided some stratigraphic context for the north-central Florida expression of Weeden Island in their study of the McKeithen site (8CO17). The McKeithen site is not only important because of the ceremonial cache of decorated and effigy ceramics, but because one component of the study offers an analysis of the zoomorphic symbolism of Weeden Island (Knight in Milanich et al. 1984). It should be noted that Weeden Island provides a significant contrast to other Late Woodland cultures in the Midwest and Southeast. At a period when major centers disappear and broad-ranging art styles lose prominence, Weeden Island develops and elaborates aspects of the earlier Hopewellian and Adena patterns (Kohler 1991). In Florida, areas with Weeden Island expressions are those that participate in the later, far-reaching cultures and art styles of the Mississippian era (Figure 6-1 illustrates the geographic extent of Weeden Island, as well as those sites discussed in this chapter).

Ceramic Arts

The art styles of Weeden Island could easily be declared the "climax" of Florida art to emphasize the local development and subsequent temporal and regional impacts of the artists of this culture. As with the Hopewellian-influenced styles discussed in the previous chapters, the Weeden Island art has a primarily mortuary or ceremonial context. Like the arts of Yent and Green Point, the ceramics of the Weeden Island complex are often recovered from ceremonial caches made during mound construction. This corporate mortuary art shares similarities with the wooden effigies of Fort Center (see Chapter 3), where the wooden carvings of the mortuary pond are not associated with specific individuals, but with the mortuary area in general. Milanich et al. (1984:99-100) have suggested that the pedestaled ceramic effigies of Weeden Island may have been mounted on posts prior to their interment, much as the wooden effigies of Fort Center. In many ways the arts of Weeden Island exist in articulation with those of the Glades tradition, but also provide a case of parallel development to one another. Weeden Island, like the Glades tradition, has its inspiration in the Hopewellian-related Yent and Green Point complexes. Many of the animals represented in Weeden Island have counterparts in the carvings of bone and wood from Fort Center, Key Marco and other southern Florida sites. Unlike the carvings that best characterize the early

manifestations of the Glades tradition, Weeden Island is an elaboration of modeling in clay. Weeden Island's most enduring contribution to the Glades tradition is the basis it provides for later arts, and the likely flow of information between the two traditions.

Vessel Form and Decoration

Weeden Island vessel forms and decorative techniques are quite varied, and the primary emphasis here is on those vessels designed to replicate animals or humans. Some vessels that take the shape of animals are called pedestaled effigies. Pedestaled vessels have hollow bases that extend from the bottom of the vessel body or effigy form. These pedestaled forms were never intended as receptacles, but may have been mounted on posts. Some vessels modeling animal forms are plain, while others have incised or punctated details representing elements of the animal's body or markings. Other vessels, often with incised or punctated details, have zoömorphic or anthropomorphic adornos added, converting a bowl or other vessel into an animal. Adornos of ducks and spoonbills are most common, though other animal heads and tails may be applied to a vessel to convert it into an effigy. Modeling of features on effigy vessels is quite varied, often resulting from a repoussé technique, which produces a bulbous extension from the vessel body.

Decorative techniques, apart from modeling and applique work, include fine incising and punctation (Figure 6-2

illustrates the variety of Weeden Island vessel forms and decorative techniques). Lines and background fill are often created with carefully made and placed punctations. Size and shape of punctations may vary between vessels, but within a vessel they will be standardized. Decoration consisting of dermatoglyphic patterns, geometric forms with hatched or cross-hatched fill, and geometric forms with punctated fill also exist.

Several distinctive motifs found on Weeden Island vessels may be abstracted from zoöomorphic designs. McCane-O'Connor (1979) identifies a number of design motifs or elements, and suggests an evolution of motifs from Hopewellian through Weeden Island and Fort Walton ceramics. The major stumbling block of McCane-O'Connor's (1979) work, and other similar studies (Phelps 1968), is that motifs are removed from their vessel context, often leaving behind important clues about symbolism. Some major Weeden Island design elements are discussed below. Examples are illustrated in Figure 6-3, and these motifs are found on many of the effigies illustrated in this chapter.

Bird Effigies

Weeden Island artists were not only accomplished potters, but also excelled in avian classification. Avian images in Weeden Island art forms the most diverse and sophisticated class of zoöomorphic imagery in Florida. Effigies vary from pedestaled forms to those derived from

bowl and vase-like vessels. Gross taxonomic categories of avian forms include owls, vultures, crested birds, waterfowl, and terrestrial game birds. Along with the derived and pedestaled effigies, some of these forms also occur as compartment vessels, incised figures on vessel surfaces, and as effigy appliques or adornos on vessel rims. The essential classes of bird life represented in Weeden Island art are raptorial birds (i.e., owls, vultures, and possibly small hawks) and waterfowl (i.e., wading birds, ducks, spoonbills), the principal birds found in Hopewellian and Hopewellian-derived art, like that of Fort Center and Key Marco. Minor categories include terrestrial game fowl like the quail and turkey, as well as what may be small hawk effigies. Figure 6-4 depicts five of the types of birds represented in Weeden Island pottery. Comparison with the carvings of birds discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 indicate numerous correspondences between Weeden Island and southern Florida forms.

Appliqued duck or duck-like birds are perhaps the most common avian representations on Weeden Island pottery. Twelve examples were documented for this study, including specimens recovered by Moore (1902:138, 171-172, 187, 207, 259, 307, 324; 1903b:420-421; 1918:531-532, 542-543) and those excavated from McKeithen (Milanich et al. 1984:152, 155). Examples of these applique birds are illustrated in Figure 6-5 and 6-6. Often these applique birds are rather

simple, with excised or bulging eyes, and spatulate bills. Applique duck or spoonbill heads also appear on some of the human effigies discussed below, and appear to be components of hair-wraps or headdresses (Figure 6-12a, e). In many ways these duck-like appliques are reminiscent of the duckbill pendants discussed in Chapter 3, and may be derived from this aspect of Hopewellian art. Knight (in Milanich 1984:171-172) suggests that these applique birds intend the wood stork or roseate spoonbill, however, the spatulate bill argues for a shoveler duck (*Anas clypeata*) or spoonbill (*Ajaia ajaja*). Interestingly, the shoveler duck is a winter visitor to Florida and the spoonbill migrates to Florida for breeding (Allen 1942).

Spoonbill effigies clearly originate in the Hopewellian horizon, where they are most prominent as effigy plummets (see Chapter 2). The persistence of this form in Weeden Island and Glades art systems argues for an important role of the spoonbill in Florida symbol systems.

Mammal Effigies

Mammal effigies are rather rare in Weeden Island ceramics, though examples compare well with animal carvings of southern Florida. A pedestaled effigy with cut-outs from Kolomoki depicts an opossum (Sears 1953:64). This is the only Weeden Island opossum effigy, though examples are known from the Fort Walton culture (Lazarus and Hawkins 1976:61),

and an opossum in low-relief ornamented a bone pin from southern Florida (see Figure 4-3c).

Kolomoki produced many other mammal effigies, including a figural effigy of a sitting buck with cut-outs (Figure 6-7d), a vessel with deer head adorno and incised limbs, and a derived effigy of a squatting or sitting doe (Sears 1951b:Pl. VII; 1953:57, 59). A vessel from Mound Field (8WA8) (Moore 1902:315) portrays a young male deer bearing a rather devilish grin (Figure 6-8). Like one of the deer effigies from Kolomoki, this piece depicts a young male deer, as indicated by the small spike antlers or nubbins. The manner of execution suggests certain anthropomorphic attributes, as the forelegs (complete with hooves) and overall morphology are arranged in a human stance. Again, the Hopewellian horizon would appear to be the source of cervid imagery, and this theme remains prominent well into the European contact-era. Prior to the development of Weeden Island and Glades arts, deer antlers were important as an artistic medium, and this may explain why the deer of Hopewellian symbolism was easily incorporated into Florida art and symbol systems. The deer images of Weeden Island closely parallel the forms discussed for Hopewell art by Greber and Ruhl (1989:277), who note a focus on the male deer throughout various points in its life cycle.

A vessel with a wildcat or panther effigy adorno was recovered from Tucker (8FR4) (Moore 1902:261). Sears

(1953:56, 58) illustrates three wildcat, panther or bobcat effigies from Kolomoki (see Figure 6-7a-c). One cat effigy is a figural effigy with cut-outs, another is derived from a bowl, with cat head adorno, bulbous legs, zone-red painting and cut-outs. A pedestaled effigy of a bobcat depicts the animal in a semi-seated position, and like the deer effigy discussed above, has an anthropomorphic quality (Figure 6-7c) (Sears 1953:62).

Effigy adornos illustrating dogs or bears are known from two vessels--one from McKeithen, and the other from West Bay Post Office (8BY11). The McKeithen example has two effigy heads of dogs or bears ornamenting the lip of a globular vessel, a third adorno is a vulture and another applied figure is a spout (Figure 6-9). The West Bay dog or bear effigy vessel is shown in Figure 6-7e. In this case the vessel forms the body of the mammal, with incised figures depicting limbs (Moore 1902:137). It should be noted that the incised "limbs" are virtually identical to incised designs thought to depict wings. This similitude may point to an axiom of Weeden Island zoölogic classification, and the use of wing motifs to depict mammal limbs may point to the primacy of avian imagery in Weeden Island symbolism. Greber and Ruhl (1989:277) suggest an important role for the bear in Hopewell symbolism, noting that it is often combined or associated with deer imagery.

Serpent Effigies

Portrayals of serpents, primarily rattlesnakes, are infrequent in Weeden Island ceramics, but do exist in several instances. The best examples are illustrated in Figure 6-10. In two cases, long, undulating bodies are depicted, with the distinctive rattlesnake tail at one end, and a head with bulging eyes at the other. The tails, head and body bear the line with triangular cut-out terminals. One example is taken from a sherd, and the other ornaments the base of a vulture effigy vessel (Moore 1902:303; 1902:292). The elaborate rattler tail is an unusual element, and it occurs apart from other serpent imagery on many other vessels. It is often an aspect of avian imagery, forming the tail or tail-feathers of a host of bird images. The association of vulture and rattlesnake imagery occurs in ceremonial contexts in southern Florida, and the Weeden Island examples provide an important temporal baseline for this theme (see the discussion of Margate-Blount in Chapter 7).

Rattlesnake adornos are reported by Sears (1953:67) from Kolomoki. Four of these ornamented a vessel, and have twisted undulating bodies and large bulging eyes. The bodies of the serpents are divided into chevron-shaped segments, with alternate plain and punctated treatment.

Human Effigies

Human effigy vessels have been recovered from at least fifteen Weeden Island mounds, and fragmentary examples from five other localities were examined for this study. Most examples of human effigy vessels are from the Florida panhandle, though examples from southwestern Florida, the St. Johns River, Georgia and Louisiana have been recovered (Fewkes 1924:15, Pls. 10, 12; Luer, personal communication, 1995; Jahn and Bullen 1978:Fig. 19a; Sears 1953:55, 59; Jones 1979:117-121; and Belmont and Williams 1981:30). Figure 6-11 through 6-13 illustrate many of the Weeden Island anthropomorphic effigies. The human forms depicted by Weeden Island artists often share several characteristics, including elliptical eyes with a central slit; prominent navels; folded arms; elaborate hairstyles or headdresses, sometimes incorporating vulture or duck imagery; and scant clothing, often consisting of nothing more than a G-string. All known depictions are of males, unlike Hopewellian figurines that often portray females. The countenance of the Weeden Island effigies is most likely that of the deceased. The closed eyes, recumbent heads, combed hair, blank expressions, and bundled genitals are probably portrayals of ritual specialists (like those described by Milanich et al. 1984) prepared for burial. Variations in weight, clothing and other facial and body characteristics indicate that actual individuals are being

portrayed, and not the abstract notion of "human being." One example from Warrior River, mound A (8TA2) has incised lines across the face which may denote tattooing or another type of body decoration (Figure 6-12c) (Moore 1902:332). Interestingly, one example from Kolomoki shares features of Hopewellian and Weeden Island human effigies (see Figure 6-12f). The individual depicted is clearly alive, but has the distinctive combed hair and facial features of other Weeden Island effigies. Elements of personal ornamentation are particularly noteworthy, including bird head epaulets and a bone hair pin (Sears 1953:59; Milanich et al. 1984:173). The other human effigy from Kolomoki is more like the Florida examples, with a spatulate-billed bird headdress and typically unresponsive features (Figure 6-12a) (Sears 1953:55).

Figures 6-12 and 6-13 illustrate most of the Weeden Island human effigy vessels. Size ranges from smaller examples under ten inches, to the largest from Ware Mound (8OK5). The Ware effigy was fragmentary when found, and the legs below the knees are missing (see Figure 6-11). The highly burnished surface has little embellishment, other than fingers, wrapped genitals, ear cymbals and the blank facial expression. The neatly combed hair is wrapped with a band ornamented by the typical line-with-terminals motif. This type of arrangement is also found on the effigy from Basin Bayou, west (8WL13) (Figure 6-12b). Almost all other

examples have some sort of hair-wrap or headdress. The figure from Aucilla River (8TA1) has a headdress with two slight projections, perhaps representing the antlers of a young male deer (Figure 6-12d). Another Weeden Island "deer man" is depicted in an effigy adorno from Hall (8WA4) (Moore 1902:303). The most elaborate headdress is found on the effigy from Burnt Mill Creek (8BY16); in this case a vulture-like bird surmounts the forehead of the individual, while a spoonbill-like bird covers the back of the head and neck (Figure 6-12e) (Moore 1902:148-149). Incised wing elements complete the design.

An unusual solid effigy of chalky ware was recovered from Tick Island (see Jahn and Bullen 1978). This piece is well within the size and morphological range exhibited in other Weeden Island human effigies (Figure 6-13f). Folded arms, tilted head, combed hair, G-string, and general facial features ally this effigy with those of Weeden Island, though it is well outside the area normally identified with Weeden Island ceremonialism. One unusual feature is a goatee beard in applique on the effigy. Recent reinterpretation of Hopewellian elements in the St. Johns area (Miller 1994; Ashley 1992) indicates that the ceramics and ceremonialism associated with Yent and Green Point occurred here as well. Perhaps the mound ceremonialism of the St. Johns area is a manifestation of Weeden Island in this region.

Many of the human effigies discussed here have two perforations, either on the back or front of the vessel, and usually placed around the arms or shoulders. The function of these holes is unclear, though suspension, or attachment of funerary garments are two possible explanations.

It should be noted that many of the human effigies were broken when found, just as other ceremonial vessel are. This is probably not accidental, as the patterns of breakage are often replicated from vessel to vessel, site to site. Most of the human effigy vessels recovered by Moore were broken, and repaired following excavation. Certain portions of the broken effigies are often missing, and the ceramic faces--looking rather like death masks--have been found as isolated elements at some sites (Fewkes 1924; Goodyear 1968; Luer, personal communication, 1995). A collection of these face fragments at PLMNH illustrate more variety among the Weeden Island human effigies, including examples with elaborate headdresses, ear ornaments, face painting, and tattooing.

A large polychrome human effigy from Buck (80K11) is often offered as an example of a Weeden Island human effigy (Figure 6-13d) (Lazarus 1979; Dickens 1982; Brose et al. 1985; Milanich 1994). This piece actually shares characteristics with Weeden Island and Mississippian effigies, and should be regarded as a late example. Red slipping and zoned-red painting are found on Weeden Island

effigies, but polychrome painting is unique to the Buck Mound effigy. The face, which clearly depicts a live person, as well as the shape of the legs, suggest a relationship with Mississippian effigies (see Moore 1905b:256 and Dickens 1982:93 for zoöomorphic and anthropomorphic effigies with similar faces and legs). In fact, effigies from adjacent areas that have been classified as Weeden Island style often have features that align them with Mississippian effigy styles. Compare the effigies from Carney Bluff, Alabama (Figure 6-13c) (Moore 1905b:256; Walthall 1980:169); Shirley, Mississippi (Greenwell 1984:155); and Gold Mine, Louisiana (Figure 6-13a-b) (Jones 1979:117-121; Belmont and Williams 1981:29-32) with the Buck and other Florida Weeden Island forms.

Weeden Island Symbolism

Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984:163-184) provides a model of Weeden Island ideology, the symbolism underlying the zoöomorphic images discussed above. Knight's model is based on principles of structural anthropology, analogy with other traditional classification systems, and Hall's analysis of Hopewellian symbolism (Hall 1979). Comparison of the above discussion of Weeden Island iconography with Glades tradition images provides some contradictions and confirmations of Knight's model, perhaps allowing for recognition of a more general pattern of Weeden Island ideology.

Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984:171,178) suggests that animals depicted by Weeden Island artists fall into three classes: taboo-violating creatures, including the dog and vulture; other animals not associated with any major class of Weeden Island animals, including the spoonbill, ibis and duck-like birds, as well as the owls, crested birds, reptiles, opossum, and predatory mammals; and the deer, representing an accepted class of social behavior. Knight's major premise is that the first two categories of animals chosen by Weeden Island artists represent anomalous animals that did not "fit" into the traditional zoological classification scheme. Hence, they were selected as the focus of ritual behavior and artistic endeavor. For example, Knight identifies the spoonbill or wood ibis effigies as manifestations of the "master of game," a common mythic figure who serves as a mediator or middleman in many societies (Hall 1979:259). The deer, unlike the first two categories, represents a socially acceptable category of human behavior, namely the young husband/hunter brought into the matrilocal family.

With the exception of the spoonbill or wood ibis, and the deer, Knight does not provide any additional information about the significance of animals in Weeden Island social and ritual systems. The anomalous or unaffiliated nature of the animals is given as the reason for special signification, but the significance attached to the animals

is not speculated upon. This type of information would be difficult to produce without analogy to other groups.

Knight's suggestion that the game master is portrayed in the effigies of spoonbills, wood ibises, and ducks could be extended to other effigies, which may also illustrate mythological figures or animal owners. Legends and myths of Southeast Indians are full of animal stories, as well as anthropomorphic animals who play a significant role in the origins of culture (Swanton 1929, 1946; Mooney 1900; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1964; Speck and Broom 1951). The assumption that Weeden Island peoples had similar stories, mythic heroes, and beliefs would seem appropriate. Further, the suggestion that the effigies of young male deer embody the young husband brought into the matrilineal family is supported by the anthropomorphic style of some of the effigies, as well as the deer headdresses worn by some human effigies. The association of humans and animals is also found in the human effigies, all of males, many of which are wearing bird or deer headdresses or are decorated with the line-with-terminals motif, an avian or zoomorphic symbol. Knight (in Milanich 1984:181-182) says little about Weeden Island human effigies, though they are important in understanding the correspondence between people and animals. The fact that each human effigy appears to be a portrait of a deceased male also provides some clues about Weeden Island art. The animal effigies may also be designed to portray a

particular animal, perhaps a mythical figure, clan totem, or guardian spirit. The focus on males and death may be important as well. Most portrayals of humans preceding and following Weeden Island art are of living individuals, and both males and females are depicted in Hopewellian figurines (see Chapter 2). The anthropomorphic qualities of Weeden Island zoömorphs, and the association of animals with human effigies, may be an indication of some totemic notions, where animals are considered to be another kind of people. Miller's (1982) discussion of bear ceremonialism and effigies of bears in the eastern United States is a good example of the flexible line between human and animal. In this sense, the animal portrayals not only illustrate totems, ancestors or mythic figures, they also act to represent social actors and appropriate and inappropriate behavior as Knight suggests.

Weeden Island and the Glades Tradition

The above analysis of Weeden Island iconography and symbolism indicates there are strong correspondences between the zoöomorphic imagery of Weeden Island and the Glades tradition. Focus on avian imagery and some mammals is a feature of both traditions, and the deer and deer-man remain a constant. At Fort Center this animal imagery has a similar mortuary function, like much of the Weeden Island pottery discussed above. The effigy carvings of Key Marco also portray similar zoöomorphic and anthropomorphic forms,

with a distinctive ceremonial context. The smaller bone and antler carvings from southern Florida reveal the personal nature of animals in Glades tradition art, whereas most Weeden Island art is corporate in nature. This is probably the result of parallel development from earlier Yent, Green Point, and Crystal River symbolism, as well as flow between Weeden Island and Glades tradition art. The exact relationship between Weeden Island and Glades tradition art and ceremonialism is unclear. As noted above, there is a common origin, though a divergence in media, with Weeden Island artists excelling in ceramics and Glades tradition artists applying themselves to carving in bone and wood. There is, however, an articulation between Weeden Island and the Glades tradition on the southwestern Gulf Coast of Florida with ceremonial centers from the Tampa Bay region well into the Caloosahatchee Bay area. In this sense, Weeden Island is a component of the Glades tradition, falling into the early phase as discussed in Chapter 1. Weeden Island ceramics would seem to provide at least half of the formula for Safety Harbor pottery, where the local artistic tradition is combined with external Mississippian styles. Willey (1949a:471) notes this relationship, and some scholars have pointed to Safety Harbor and Englewood pottery as degraded Weeden Island (Willey 1949a:479). Weeden Island features preserved in Safety Harbor ceramics include vessel shapes, extensive use of punctations,

variants of the incised designs, and similar zoomorphic adornos.

Perhaps the little wooden effigy found by Tallant in the western Okeechobee basin is the best example of the relationship between Weeden Island and the Glades tradition (see Figure 6-14). This figurine is small, carved in cypress or maple, and more in the tradition of Hopewellian effigies. However, it combines features of both Glades tradition carving and Weeden Island zoomorphic effigies. Goggin (in a letter to Charles N. Wilson at the SFM, dated February 26, 1949, and in his site card file for 8GL31) notes that the nose of the figurine is like the spoonbill adornos of Weeden Island effigies, and along with other features would suggest affinities to Weeden Island styles. I would add to Goggin's comments that the treatment of the arms, fingers, and feet are akin to the zoomorphic carvings discussed in Chapter 4 as elements of the early Glades tradition. This figurine not only provides a further link between Weeden Island and Glades tradition styles, but further confirms the association of animal and human imagery.

The Weeden Island case provides a close parallel to the Fort Center assemblage discussed in Chapter 3, as well as to the Key Marco material. If a common origin and close relationship did exist between Weeden Island and the Glades cultures, the ceramics of the former provide an additional

key in deciphering the zoöomorphic symbolism of southern Florida. As Greber and Ruhl (1989) and Knight (in Milanich et al. 1984) suggest, the deer represents some social position, likely that of the adopted husband. The bear remains an enigmatic figure, but the extensive avian imagery may represent ritual specialists drawn from clans with bird origins. The fact that Weeden Island human effigies appear with both deer and avian costumes helps confirm the relationship between animal and human.



Figure 6-1. Geography of Weeden Island.

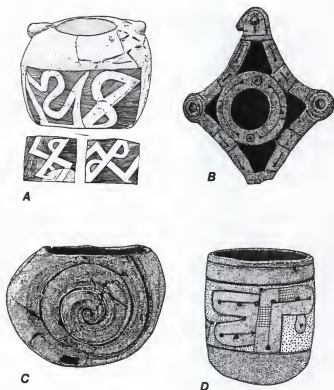


Figure 6-2. Some Weeden Island vessels and designs. a, Weeden Island Incised, with vulture adorns and swastika design, Warrior River, Mound B (8TA3) (after Moore 1902:199); b, Weeden Island Incised, compartment vessel with bird motif, 8TA3 (after Moore 1902:343); c, Weeden Island Plain, unusual shell-shaped vessel, Tucker (8FR4) (after Moore 1902:264-266); d, Weeden Island Incised, lobate motif, Douglas Bluff (8WL20) (after Moore 1918:525-527). Scale varies: a, 20.3 cm; b, 27.2 cm; c, 10.7 cm; d, 13.0 cm.

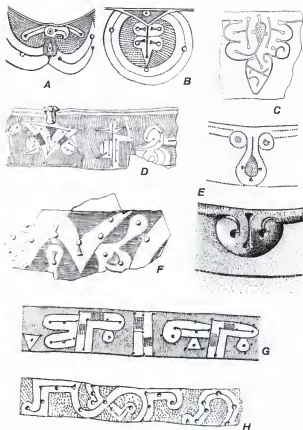


Figure 6-3. Weeden Island motifs. a-b, e, avian, tail-feather, and duck head motifs, 8PI1 (from Fewkes 1924:Pls. 18, 19, 16); c, tail-feather motif, 8TA1 (from Moore 1902:329); d, duck adorno and conventionalized bird motifs, 8WA8 (from Moore 1902:307); f, key-hole motif (from Moore 1903b:369); g, wing motif, 8WL20 (from Moore 1918:527); h, line-with-terminals and wing motifs, 8WA12 (from Moore 1902:323). Not to scale.

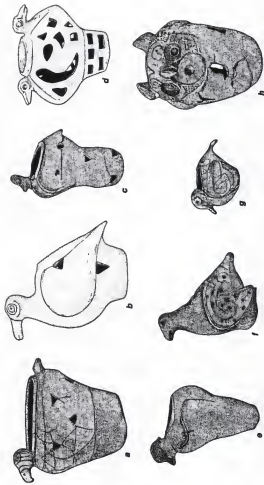


Figure 6-4. Avian effigies. a, vulture, McKeithen (8CO17), FLNMH A20086; b, vulture, Hall (8WA4) (after Moore 1902:290); c, crested bird, Marsh Island (8WA1) (after Moore 1902:278); d, pedestal vessel with duck adornments, Burnt Mill Creek (8BY15) (after Moore 1902:144); e, crested bird, Burgess Landing (8GU3) (after Moore 1903a:444); f, dove or pigeon, Tucker (8FK4) (after Moore 1902:260); g, plover/shorebird, Strange's Landing (8BY26) (after Moore 1902:193); h, great horned owl, Laughton's Bayou (8BY28) (after Moore 1902:191). All to scale: a, 25.9 cm; c, 26.7 cm; e, 25.4 cm; f, 21.8 cm. 23

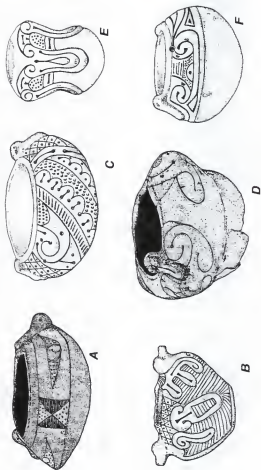


Figure 6-5. Applique duck or spoonbill effigies. a, St. Marks Mound (8WAl2) (after Moore 1902:324); b, 8WLi2 (after Moore 1918:Pl. XIII); c, West Bay Post Office (8BY11) (after Moore 1902:138); d, 8BY25 (after Moore 1902:187); e, West Bay Post Office (after Moore 1918:542); f, Bayport (8HE1) (after Moore 1903b:420). All to scale: a, 16.5 cm; f, 17.3 cm.

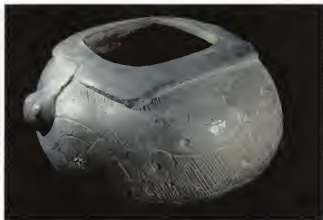


Figure 6-6. Applique duck or spoonbill effigies, Weeden Island Incised. Top, 8LV2, FLMNH 10931 (from W. M. Tallant Collection); bottom, Bayport (8HE1), FLMNH 16844.

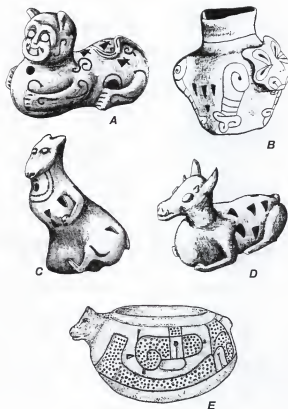


Figure 6-7. Weeden Island mammal effigies. a-b, panthers; c, bobcat; d, young buck, Mound D, Kolomoki, Georgia (vessel reconstructions from Sears 1953:56, 57, 58, reproduced with the permission of the author); e, dog or bear, West Bay Post Office (8BY11) (after Moore 1902:137). Not to scale: a, 27.9 cm; b, 17.8 cm; c, 30.5 cm; d, 30.5 cm; e 23.2 cm.



Figure 6-8. Deer effigy vessel, Mound Field (8WA8), 18.3 cm
(from Moore 1902:315).



Figure 6-9. Dog and vulture effigy vessel, Weeden Island Plain, McKeithen (8CO17), FLMNH A10952, 10.0 cm mouth diameter. Reproduced with permission, Florida Museum of Natural History.

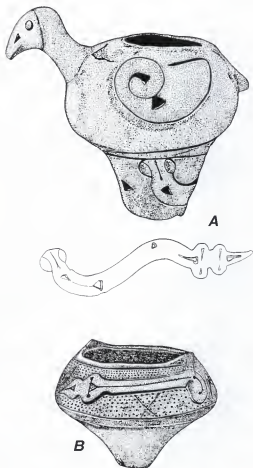


Figure 6-10. Rattlesnake/vulture effigies. a, Hall (8WA4) (after Moore 1902:292); b, Davis Point, west (8BY7) (after Moore 1902:178-179). All to scale: a, 22.9 cm; b, 13.7 cm.

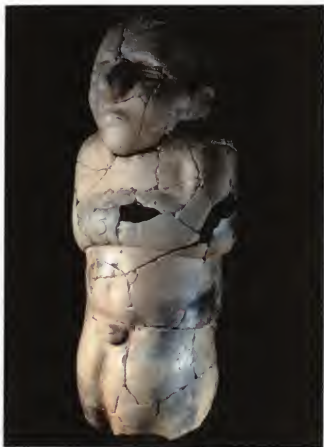


Figure 6-11. Human effigy, Ware Mound (8OK5), TMM 1646. Approximately 41.0 cm. Reproduced with permission, Temple Mound Museum, Fort Walton Beach.

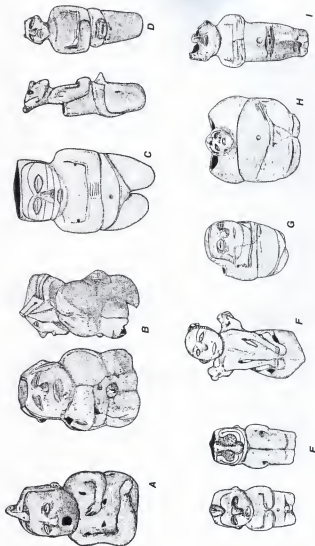


Figure 6-12. Weeden Island human effigies. a, f, Mound D, Kolomoki, Georgia (after Sears 1953:55, 59); b, Basin Bayou, west (8WL13) (after Moore 1901:458); c, Warrior River, Mound A (8TA2) (after Moore 1902:332); d, Aucilla River (8TA1) (after Moore 1918:566, Pl. XVI); e, Burnt Mill Creek, smaller mound (8BY16) (after Moore 1902:148-149); g, Hare Hammock (8BY30) (after Moore 1902:201); Davis Point, west (8BY7) (after Moore 1918:546); Burnt Mill Creek, larger mound (8BY15) (after Moore 1902:143). All to scale: a, 25.4 cm; b, 24.6 cm; c, 25.4 cm; d, 21.6 cm; e, 18.0 cm; f, 22.9 cm; i, 20.1 cm.

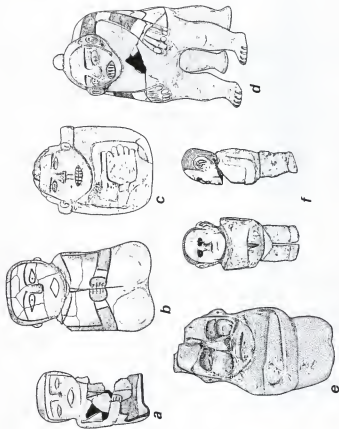


Figure 6-13. Additional human effigies. a-b, Quafalorma Red and White, Gold Mine, Louisiana (after Belmont and Williams 1981:30); c, Carneys Bluff, Alabama (after Moore 1905b:256); d, polychrome vessel, Buck (80K11), TMM; e, Weeden Island Plain, Aspalaga (8GD1) (after Moore 1903a:486); f, Weeden Island-like figurine, Tick Island (8VO24) (after Jahn and Bullen 1978:Fig. 19a). Not to scale: a, 29.86 cm; b, 30.5 cm; c, 17.8 cm; d, 35.7 cm; e, 35.6 cm; f, 20.3 cm.



Figure 6-14. Wooden effigy, from northern shore of Lake Okeechobee (8GL31), Tallant Collection, SFM A143, 11.4 cm. Reproduced with permission, South Florida Museum and Bishop Planetarium, Bradenton.

CHAPTER 7
LATE GLADES TRADITION ART

The objects discussed below are those on which Goggin based his original concept of the "Glades Cult phase B". All have varying relationships with Mississippian material culture, and many have direct analogs in the SECC. Safety Harbor pottery is the end of the ceramic continuum begun during the Hopewell horizon and climaxing in the fine work of Weeden Island potters. As with earlier sacred pottery, many Safety Harbor vessels were used ritually--often mutilated--before being placed in graves or mound caches. The mutilation suggests several stages of use prior to interment, including a time shortly after production when the vessel may have been used in its original form, to other periods when broken out bases or modified necks allowed for use in another fashion. In cases where effigy adornos were present, these are often broken away from the vessel and reused as pendants--providing a link between the ancient form of personal animal amulets and the Mississippian-related pottery tradition.

I have also included three styles of decorative bone carving, which appear to be additional local Mississippian-related expressions. The most local of these carving styles appears to be a southeastern Florida use of Safety Harbor

designs, and may be an attempt to reinterpret the exotic motifs in a familiar medium and form. This may also indicate that the Safety Harbor designs have a zoomorphic element, as Glades artists feel it is acceptable to transfer these designs to media traditionally associated with carvings of animals. Interestingly, another of these bone artifact styles has an origin in featherwork and plaitwork, both industries which have royal connotations in other parts of the Americas (Robicsek 1975). These carvings may be an attempt to supplant earlier naturalistic carvings with gaudier pieces that would appear more obvious on one's person. Often these bone artifacts are tenoned, and possibly designed as feather holders--certainly a more distinctive form of personal adornment than the small bone animal carvings.

The wooden idols, a distinctive aspect of Goggin's "Glades Cult," are an unusual addition to Glades art, with little precedence for human imagery earlier in the tradition. The inspiration for these carvings, which form a cohesive style unit, are likely from Weeden Island and Florida Mississippian-related cultures, since the ideographic content is exclusively male, and the form suggests the ancestor idols known from non-Florida Mississippian centers.

Mississippian Horizon

Mississippian influences have long been recognized in both northwestern and northeastern Florida. Moore (1894, 1895; Goggin 1952) excavated a number of mounds within the St. Johns River basin that contained repoussé copper items, probably produced at other Mississippian centers and traded to the elites of the river mounds. The people of the area also constructed temple mounds, and followed the rituals of purification involved in building mounds and burying the dead. The Fort Walton and Pensacola cultures of Florida's panhandle also had extensive ties with other Mississippian centers, as reflected in pottery forms and designs (Willey 1949a). Jones (1994) and Payne (1994) have documented the mounds and artifacts of the Lake Jackson site, a major Mississippian center in Leon County. Salvage excavations in Mound 3 produced high status interments with repoussé copper ornaments, including the classic SECC "hawk-dancer" plates; artifacts carved of exotic stone; Spaghetti-style shell gorgets; and a host of other high status goods (Jones 1982, 1994). Ceramics of the Fort Walton and Pensacola series are distinctively Mississippian, exhibiting the classic symbolism of the SECC (Willey and Woodbury 1942; Willey 1949a). Safety Harbor, on the other hand, is an amalgam of Weeden Island and Mississippian vessel forms and decorative techniques.

A Mississippian influence in southern-central Florida has been acknowledged, primarily in the ceramics of the Safety Harbor period (Bullen 1952). Safety Harbor people also built temple mounds, and combined architectural styles of southern Florida with those of their Mississippian associates (Luer and Almy 1981; Luer et al. 1987; Benson 1967a). Contact with the Mississippian groups of the Florida panhandle is recognized as the most likely inspiration for Safety Harbor period art and architecture, though Sears (1967) has pointed to possible direct relationships with Caddoan people to the west. Some of the other Mississippian manifestations discussed below may have resulted from contact with Mississippian-influenced cultures of the St. Johns and Malabar areas, or more direct communication with SECC centers outside Florida. Mitchem (1989b) has recently made a detailed study of the Safety Harbor period, including some of the results of excavation at the Tatham site. This site produced Englewood and Safety Harbor ceramics, as well as artifacts reflecting contact with Europeans. Mitchem (1989b:557-567) has revised definitions of several related cultures that represent late Weeden Island through contact era manifestations in the west-central peninsula. Four phases are defined within the general rubric of "Safety Harbor Culture." Earliest in this sequence is Englewood, a poorly known burial mound culture with Weeden Island and Mississippian aspects. Pinellas

Phase refers to pre-contact Mississippian aspects of Safety Harbor, while Tatham and Bayview phases are the rough equivalents of the late Glades tradition. The latter three phases are characterized by Safety Harbor Incised pottery. Other types, like Point Washington Incised, Cool Branch Incised, and St. Johns Check Stamped complete mortuary or ceremonial caches of pottery. Mitchem (1989b:567-579) recognizes five regional variants of Safety Harbor, primarily centered around the west-central peninsula. I would add to these the St. Johns and Ocklawaha drainages, which have received little acknowledgment, but appear to share many commonalities, especially within Mitchem's earliest phase. Figure 7-1 illustrates sites of the late Glades tradition discussed in this chapter, as well as other Mississippian horizon sites of Florida.

In general, the objects discussed below would appear to reflect the increasing importance of political or religious elites in southern Florida--paralleling developments in other parts of Florida and the Southeast. This is indicated in both the decorated bone pins and feather holders, as well as the anthropomorphic figurines of wood. In both cases an increase in imagery related to humans and symbols of human power is demonstrated. Zoömorphic imagery, like that described in Chapter 4, continues to be produced, suggesting that two distinct stylistic schools exist side-by-side. The older and more conservative school maintains a focus on

animal imagery, possibly representing the work of individual shaman-artists or individuals within varying clans. The newly emerging school develops an interest in human forms, a major addition to Glades iconography, as well as elements of human material culture. This second school may revolve around increasingly important elites who are involved in broader relationships with other Mississippian-influenced elites throughout Florida.

Safety Harbor Ceramics

Safety Harbor vessel forms are illustrated in Figures 7-2 through 7-7, and include bottles, beakers, collared-jars, cone-shaped, gourd-shaped, and globular bowl forms (Willey 1949a; Sears 1967; Luer 1993). Ceramics of the Safety Harbor period appear around A.D. 900, and continue in production through the early European contact-era. Safety Harbor pottery and related forms are primarily mortuary. Safety Harbor vessel shapes replicate those known in the Mississippian pottery of northern Florida and the Southeast. It should be noted that Safety Harbor vessel forms are not completely like those of other Mississippian cultures, and include only a few of a much wider range of shapes. Sears (1967) documents the origins of some of these shapes in the earlier ceramics of Weeden Island, or other neighboring Southeastern cultures. Like their Weeden Island predecessors, the Safety Harbor artists exist in articulation with their counterparts in the Glades

tradition. In many ways Safety Harbor follows in the tradition established in the earlier Weeden Island culture, and like its progenitor, cases of Safety Harbor ceremonialism occur into southwestern Florida. This indicates considerable contact between Safety Harbor and Glades people, as well as a certain overlap in the expression of these two cultures.

Luer (1993:240, personal communication, 1995) has recently suggested that several vessels, of differing shapes, may have been used in concert to prepare medicines or ritual drinks that needed to be decanted, mixed or otherwise manipulated. Composite vessels known elsewhere may be replicas of these mixing sets (see vessels in Moore 1905a:183). Many vessels have pre-fired or intentionally broken-out bases, which may have allowed concoctions to flow through several stacked vessels. In fact, many vessels are ritually broken before interment, while others were modified to perform certain tasks more efficiently (i.e., careful removal of vessel necks). In any case, there are indications that Safety Harbor vessels had some function prior to their deposition in mounds.

Effigy adornos, in the form of human or animal heads, occasionally ornament vessel rims. As noted in Chapter 6, Weeden Island vessels often have human effigy or bird adornos, and one example from the Weeden Island site has some similarity to those illustrated and described by Luer

(1986:282; 1991:70-71) and Bullen (1952:67). A Safety Harbor Incised vessel with human head medallions is illustrated in Figure 7-7. This use of human imagery is shared with other Mississippian art styles in the Southeast (Luer 1986; Holmes 1903:41, Pl. XLIX; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Pls. 121, 122; Brose et al. 1985:176; Dye and Wharey 1989:330). Vessels with avian adorns generally have an open bowl or caseula shape, with incised scrolls or volutes around the rim (Figure 7-6) (Sears 1967). This type is known as Point Washington Incised, and also is found in Fort Walton sites, and elsewhere, under other names, in the Southeast (Holmes 1903:Pls. XX, XXI; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Pl. 35; Brose et al. 1985:129). Complete examples in Safety Harbor contexts are infrequent, though modified adorno heads have been documented (Luer 1992). Derived effigy vessels are rare and more typical of Fort Walton and other Mississippian styles, though one example from Picnic is modeled to look like a frog, with applique head and extremities (Figure 7-3d) (Bullen 1952:66-67). Effigy forms are very diverse in other Mississippian ceramic assemblages, ranging from human forms to a host of different animals (Brose et al. 1985; Dickens 1982; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957). Frog effigy vessels are also common to other Mississippian pottery styles (Lazarus and Hawkins 1976:61; Brose et al. 1985:130; Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Pl. 123). Zoöomorphic imagery in Safety Harbor ceramics is actually

rather rare, especially when considering the importance of animals in the art of the preceding Weeden Island and neighboring Glades tradition.

Safety Harbor ceramics are decorated with incised and punctated geometric designs, perhaps abstracted from naturalistic designs of earlier periods. Scroll, volute, pendent-loop, guilloche, zigzag, nested chevron, herringbone, barred oval, and concentric circle motifs are known. Avian imagery, either incised feather motifs or applique feet, are recognizable on some vessels (Figures 7-2c and 7-3a) (Stirling 1935; Willey 1949a:481; Luer 1993; Sears 1967). Hand and hand-eye motifs, classic SECC imagery, have been documented on a number of Safety Harbor vessels and sherds (Figures 7-2b, 7-3g, and 7-5) (Bullen 1952:58-59; Warren et al. 1965; Sears 1967; Luer 1993). Warren et al. (1965) note that the hand is usually depicted without the eye. Baton or serpent imagery also occurs (Figure 7-4) (Willey 1949a:480-481; Sears 1967). The extensive use of punctations as background-fill or zone-fill may be directly attributed to the earlier ceramics of Weeden Island. The line-with-terminals motif described as an element of Weeden Island pottery also occurs on some Safety Harbor Incised sherds (Bullen 1952:16). The fact that some incised lines are bordered with punctations also may be derived from Weeden Island Punctated, or earlier bone carving styles (Wheeler 1994). Willey (1949a) notes that

the incised lines and punctations are often sloppily executed. Simpson characterized Safety Harbor as "degenerate Weeden Island" (quoted in Bullen 1952:55-56). This is in great contrast to the artistry of the Weeden Island potters. An unusual decorative technique found on some Safety Harbor vessels is a *champlevé*, or low-relief carving, which gives the surface of the pot an added textural dimension (Figures 7-2g and 7-5). This technique also occurs in the Rood phase (Andrews Decorated) of southern Alabama and Georgia, a northern expression of Fort Walton culture (Schnell et al. 1981:175-177, 182-184). Interestingly, a "terraced" beaker form is also shared by Safety Harbor and Rood assemblages (see Figure 7-2h) (Nunnally Incised closely parallels Safety Harbor forms and designs). Other variations in surface treatment also are known. A fluting technique is found on some gourd effigy vessels, a decorative element designed to replicate the furrows in some local gourd or pumpkin species (Figure 7-3b, e). Luer (1993:238) notes that applique "effigy" tumplines on some vessels may be related to vessel shapes derived from gourd containers (Figure 7-3h). Gourd and tumpline effigy vessels have a wide distribution in the Southeast (Fundaburk and Foreman 1957:Pls. 118, 126).

The exact relationship of Safety Harbor ceramics to those of Weeden Island, Fort Walton and more distant Mississippian styles is poorly understood. Many authors

point to Weeden Island as a primary source for Englewood and Safety Harbor ceramic morphology and design, with Mississippian elements added. Sears (1967:57), however, sees Safety Harbor as a Middle Mississippian phenomenon, with no greater relationship to the "Gulf tradition" than any other Mississippian culture. As noted above, the types Nunnally Incised and Andrews Decorated from southeastern Alabama and southwestern Georgia share some common forms and design elements with Safety Harbor ceramics. Sears (1967) notes similarities between Safety Harbor and Caddoan forms of the western portion of the Southeast. In any case, Safety Harbor ceramics have a distinctive Mississippian flavor. Other Mississippian manifestations in southern Florida, including the bone and woodcarvings, as well as the metalwork of the terminal phase, should be evaluated with regard to Safety Harbor form and design.

Meaning and Interpretation of Safety Harbor Ceramics

Perhaps the most interesting and telling motifs found in Safety Harbor ceramics are the human hands, bird feet, maces and human head adornos. These are largely additions to the corpus of motifs documented in Glades and Weeden Island artistic traditions. Recall that human hands were motifs of the Hopewellian horizon, but were not readily incorporated into the naturalistic schools of Weeden Island or Glades artists. The theme linking these four motifs is one of human agency or human presence.

Luer (1993) has recently provided an interpretation of the Safety Harbor vessel illustrated here in Figure 8-2c. The vessel in question, broken before interment, was recovered from a high-status burial. The combination of motifs and design elements offers a rare opportunity to study composition in Florida arts. The bottle, with a small pre-fired basal perforation, is typical of Safety Harbor vessel forms, though unusual in its combination of appliqued human hands and bird feet. Both these elements are found independently of one another on other vessels (see Figures 7-2b, and Willey 1949a:Fig. 63e). Meanings of these motifs can be found in studies of SECC art and symbolism, where the hand is viewed as either a symbol of God's (or the culture hero's) presence on earth, or as an emblem of warfare (Howard 1968:34). The fact that many Safety Harbor representations of this motif are not the typical hand-eye form may emphasize the latter interpretation, stressing the non-cosmic and secular elements of the hand as a weapon and emblem of earthly power. Luer (1993:246-247) also notes that human arms were taken as trophies of war by contact era tribes of Florida. The bird feet of the bottle are identified as those of the turkey, again a bird associated with warfare in SECC symbolism (Luer 1993:245; Howard 1968:47-49). Luer (1993:246; Hulton 1977:Pl. 103, 106; Sturtevant 1977:72) cites further evidence from the contact era Timucua that demonstrates a connection between warriors

and turkey-feet ornaments. In conclusion, Luer (1993:246-248) uses the war-related motifs of the Safety Harbor bottle to argue that the individual with whom it was interred was military headman, and ethnohistoric information on the Tocobaga, Calusa, and Timucua suggest that military leaders existed among the elites that surrounded the paramount leaders or chiefs.

The baton or mace motif has an interesting distribution in the Southeast, where it occurs at most major SECC centers (Ganier 1954:55-56), in a variety of forms--petroglyph, miniature lifesize chert form, and in portrayals of warriors or dancers brandishing this implement. Orr (1954:70) advances the proposition that the mace or baton is derived from the ancient form of the atlatl or spearthrower, converted to serve as an object or symbol of status, much like the use of sword in the 20th century military. Hall (1977:514) argues that the calumet and atlatl eventually functioned as ritual weapons--emblems of membership or leadership in a corporate group, or as a symbol of non-kin social relations. Howard (1968:76-77, 104, Figs. 34-35) documents the use of a ceremonial wooden "war-club" carried by lead-women in the contemporary Ribbon Dance, performed during the Green Corn Ceremony. Howard (1968:77-78) notes that the Ribbon Dance began as a scalp or war dance, and that ceremonial war-clubs were formerly used in mock

battles. All arguments suggest the mace or baton may be an emblem of leadership, possibly of military authority.

The relationship of Safety Harbor to other Mississippian manifestations has been a subject of controversy and discussion. The parallels in artistic form and design probably reflect more than simple contact or borrowing from neighboring Mississippian cultures. If the artistic system is a model or metaphor for other cultural systems like social, political and cosmological organization, then some major changes are taking place. Presumably these changes are akin to those occurring in the transition from Weeden Island to Fort Walton in the panhandle. The alternative hypothesis is that the only changes taking place are superficial--changes in style of depiction--with the underlying patterns of animal symbolism remaining relatively intact. For example, the human effigies of Weeden Island are transmuted into the human hands, human head adornos, and batons of Safety Harbor, both representing relatively the same kinds of people and the same kinds of sociopolitical dynamics. A third possibility is that the changes in iconography represent real changes in social and political systems, primarily a movement toward more formalized or institutional roles for the elites. Coexisting alongside the new elite are the older ways, manifested in the naturalistic imagery so characteristic of the earlier phases of the Glades tradition. This would

necessity the preservation of the older artistic and belief system by shamanic specialists, or ritual specialists drawn from the more traditional social groups.

Geometric Bone Carving

Three decorated bone carving styles can be attributed to the late and terminal aspects of the Glades tradition, each varying in their degree of similarity to Mississippian forms. These range from rather localized styles, restricted primarily to the Everglades area, with other styles extending throughout the peninsula. The so-called "Mississippian-influenced" style makes use of motifs and forms directly related to SECC art.

Unlike the zoomorphic bone and antler carvings described in Chapter 4, the geometric designs appear to represent items of human material culture or designs derived from Safety Harbor ceramics. In both cases the artifacts appear to have a different design intent--perhaps as emblems of power or authority that are evolving during this late aspect of the Glades tradition. In most cases the objects described, especially those of the peninsular style, appear to be specialized jewelry, designed to hold feathers or plumes. Feather holders or plume holders of this nature are evidenced in the de Bry engravings of the Le Moyne watercolors of the 16th century Timucua (Hulton 1977:Pls. 106, 129).

Peninsular geometric style

The peninsular geometric style is comprised of rectilinear and curvilinear designs incised on bone pins and pendants. Many of the designs known from this style may have their origins in the technical work of basketry, braidwork, and featherwork. These designs are found on artifacts from Hontoon Island (Purdy 1987, 1988:648-649) and other St. Johns area sites (Stewart 1979:56; Stewart, personal communication, 1992), as well as sites in the Indian River (Rouse 1951; Ferguson 1951), East Okeechobee (Wheeler 1992b), Okeechobee (Willey 1949b), Manatee (Simpson, personal communication 1995), Ten Thousand Islands (Griffin 1988), Caloosahatchee, and Everglades areas, representing one of the most widespread carving styles in Florida. Dating of some specimens indicates a Glades IIc (A.D. 1100-1200) origin in southern Florida, with all specimens from the St. Johns and Indian River areas dating to the European contact period, indicating an expansion of these styles to the north. Terry Simpson has recently excavated bone artifacts with these motifs from the Narváez site on the Gulf Coast (personal communication, 1995). It should be noted that Purdy (1988:648-649) suggests that the rectilinear motifs entered southern Florida via the Antilles and eventually reached the St. Johns area. Mitchem (1989a) has critiqued this notion, and I agree that the designs are

neither Spanish nor Antillean. Examples of this form are illustrated in Figures 7-8 and 7-9.

In an earlier study, I suggest that these rectilinear and curvilinear designs are abstracted from patterns produced in weaving and featherwork (Wheeler 1992a). Comparison with the large owl carving recovered from the river adjoining the Hontoon and Thursby sites finds some basis for this suggestion (see Bullen 1955; Purdy 1991). Feather cloth has been preserved through exposure to copper salts at Hopewellian sites in Illinois (Deuel 1948:227). Rectilinear motifs are common in the arts of many cultures, and often have a basis in plaitwork or basketry. Fabric and mat impressions on vessel bottoms reveal a wide variety of weaving styles, including some that produce decorative patterns (Benson 1959). Luer (1993:238) makes the related observation that the rectilinear design elements of Englewood and Sarasota Incised ceramics may imitate patterns found in woven basketry. Some of the curvilinear elements may in fact be derived from feather or feather mosaic work, and there is evidence for avian imagery in some Safety Harbor ceramics (see above). In comparing the Hontoon owl effigy, three primary geometric motifs can be isolated (Figure 7-9). The first is the rectilinear guilloche on the owl's back, which mimics the pattern created by feathers. Note that the motif is clearly a rectilinear guilloche, and not a simple cross-hatch pattern. The second and third

motifs involve arcs or arcs with radiating lines, which also mimic feathers, with the latter replicating the owl's tail-feathers. This tail-feather motif is found carved on the head of many bone pins, perhaps metaphorically denoting their use as feather holders.

As Robicsek (1975) suggests for the Maya, there is considerable evidence for the importance of mats in southern Florida. The Spanish missionary López described the temple of the Calusa as a "room made of mats" (in Hann 1991:159). Rogel (in Hann 1991:237) describes the tribute paid to the Calusa chief as including "feathers and mats." Alaña (in Hann 1991:423) describes a late mission to the tribes of southern Florida, noting that reed mats were given as offerings in the cemetery. It is possible that mats and feathers came to symbolize certain positions of power in southern Florida societies.

The three abstract motifs described above represent a radical change in the carving of decorated bone artifacts in the Florida peninsula. Like the motifs of Safety Harbor, these motifs are emblems of human activity, quite a divergence from the naturalistic forms already described in Chapters 3 and 4. Artifacts with these designs occur in the Manatee region, the area occupied by the Safety Harbor people, as well as in the St. Johns River basin, home to several major Mississippian centers like Mount Royal (Goggin 1952; Milanich 1995), and in the all regions of the Glades

Area. The significance of the textile and featherwork designs carved in bone may parallel interpretations of Safety Harbor motifs discussed above, namely as symbols of power and warfare. Robicsek (1975:281) presents extensive evidence that the "mat-symbol" is an emblem and symbol of power and overlordship among the Maya. The mat-symbol described by Robicsek closely parallels the rectilinear guilloche included here as a motif of the peninsular geometric style. In Maya art the mat-symbol reoccurs on images of rulers and elites, and may be derived from the woven rush mat upon which rulers sat, a tradition depicted in the Mexican codices (Robicsek 1975:285-286, 292).

Since the curvilinear counterparts of the rectilinear guilloche or mat-symbol appear to be closely related, both stylistically and literally, suggests that the feather motif may also signify power or more specifically, military power. The de Bry engravings of the Le Moyne watercolors consistently show feathers and feather holders associated with powerful individuals. Swanton (1922:347-348) summarizes some of the French ethnohistorical accounts of Timucua feather use, noting the presence of feather cloaks, as well as feather tufts and feather ornaments used in adorning the hair. Howard (1984:73-74) confirms the widespread use of feathers among Southeastern tribes, noting that the feathers of powerful wild birds required special treatment to "kill" the inherent power before use as emblem

or ornaments. The feathers of specific birds, including the eagle, woodpecker, owl, and vulture, are used as insignia by Seminole medicine men to indicate their area of expertise (Howard 1984:74). Among the Shawnee sacred war bundles contained four plumes worn by the lead warriors (Howard 1981:217-218). Luer (1993:247) and others (Howard 1968:47-49) note that certain feathers of the turkey were considered emblems of the human scalp by southeastern tribes, making these feathers prominent symbols of war and military power.

Howard (1984:138-144) discusses the Feather Dance, usually performed during the Oklahoma Seminole Green Corn Ceremony, another context in which feathers and avian symbols figure prominently. The Feather Dance appears to be related to the crane and other migratory birds, though other species like the vulture and snake are considered authors of important Feather Dance songs. In this case the crane feather "hat ornaments" become emblems of participation in the Green Corn Ceremony.

The mat and featherwork motifs identified as the principal elements of the peninsular geometric style represent a dramatic addition to the imagery of southern Florida and at least two other major culture regions of the Florida peninsula. It is suggested here that these motifs and their presentation on bone pins or feather holders parallel developments seen in Safety Harbor ceramics, where emblems of human power are emphasized. In both styles this

is a dramatic change considering the prior arts of Weeden Island and the Glades traditions. Artists in each case are able to preserve some elements of previous art systems that focused on animal imagery.

The Everglades style

The geometric designs identified here as the "Everglades Style" do not share any similarities, save for the broadest, with the incised designs known on typical Glades decorated pottery. This local geometric style seems to be largely restricted to southeastern Florida, with designs including interlocking incised lines, "T-shaped" motifs, zoned-punctated, zoned-hatched, and pendent-loop patterns. Designs are executed on ornamental bone pins and pendants, as well as other utilitarian implements. Some of these designs share similarities with those of Safety Harbor ceramics, to which they may be related. The relationship of the southeastern Florida designs to those of Safety Harbor is very important, since this represents another manifestation of the Mississippian horizon in the peninsula. Temporally, the designs of the Everglades style are primarily confined to the Glades III period--coeval with Safety Harbor and Mississippian expressions elsewhere.

In some cases the designs of the peninsular geometric style discussed above are combined or reinterpreted with those of southeastern Florida. It seems likely that both the Everglades and peninsular styles are related, in terms

of shared motifs, as well as association with textile or feather work imagery. Unfortunately, most decorated bone objects are fragmentary, and many in the current sample have come from unprovenanced collections or from sites where specific temporal context is unknown. The following is a description of some of the classes of designs and design combinations observed:

Knot and braid motif. Included within the Everglades style are several examples of knot and braid imagery incised on bone (see Figure 7-10). The finest two pieces were recovered from 8DA140 in Glades II contexts (Coleman 1971); the example from Granada is more recent. Knot imagery may be associated with the early development of the peninsular geometric style discussed above, as this design is more geographically restricted.

Punctated pendants. Bone pendants bearing punctated designs have been recovered from a number of sites in southeastern Florida. Figure 7-11 illustrates a series of these pendants. Note that the punctated design is often unorganized, as if punctations were added at random; sometimes punctations are organized in groups, lines or panels. Occasionally specimens have a few incised lines. The punctated pendant from Bear Lake (8MO33) was recovered from a Glades I late (A.D. 500-750) context (Griffin 1988:210). The pendant from Margate-Blount was recovered from a Glades IIIa (A.D. 1200-1400) stratum along with other

decorated bone artifacts exhibiting Mississippian decorative elements (Figure 7-11c). The punctated pendant fragment from Upper Matecumbe (8MO17) was associated with Surfside Incised ceramics, again providing a temporal context of Glades IIIa (Figure 7-11a). Several similar undecorated pendants are known from southern Florida, including examples from Galt Island (Lee 1990:280), Belle Glade (Willey 1949b:43), and Granada (Richardson and Pohl 1982:117,119,122,Pl. 32). Some of these pendants are paddle-shaped like the one in Figure 7-11b.

Interlocking motif. A motif identified on several Everglades area bone artifact fragments could be described as an interlocking, "T-shaped" or "U-shaped" pattern. Goggin and Sommer (1949:48-49) report a specimen with this design from Upper Matecumbe. In most cases this motif takes the form of two nested "U" designs with a central line. Some specimens have several registers containing this design, while others have panels with the design that wrap around the shaft of the artifact. The technical quality of carving varies from specimen to specimen, including some that have faint, uneven lines, and others with deep, broad and regular engraving. In one case, this interlocking motif is found on an artifact that bears the rectilinear gilloche of the peninsular geometric style (see Figure 7-12a); the rectilinear motif is well-known along the east coast, but the interlocking motif occurs only in southern Florida. The

specimen with this combination is from Cheetum (8DA1058) and dates to Glades IIIa/IIIb (A.D. 1200-1513) according to Laxson's (1962) classification of pottery from the site. Other specimens bearing this interlocking style include examples from Granada dating to Glades IIIb (A.D. 1400-1513) period (see Figure 7-12c), Big Pine Midden 1 (8MO7) associated with mixed ceramics of several Glades periods (Figure 7-12b), as well as an unprovenanced specimen from Dade County collected by the Miami-West Indian Archaeological Society (Figure 7-12d).

Interlocking and punctated motif. The interlocking motif described above is occasionally combined with punctations, often times the irregularly placed punctations already observed for the Everglades style. One particularly interesting piece with the interlocking and punctated motif appears to have served as a handle, possibly from a composite bone awl or fid. Figure 7-12f illustrates this specimen. This bone handle also bears an incised cruciform motif. The cruciform pattern may be a typical component of the interlocking motif, but since this is one of the few complete specimens known it is impossible to tell. A fragmentary specimen dating to Glades III, probably a pin, from Granada bears a similar motif, with a possible cross-shaped incised pattern and several groups of punctations (Figure 7-12g). A decorated bone pendant from Cheetum combines a cruciform shape with similar incised lines and a

diamond-shaped central recess (Figure 7-12e). This specimen may be abstracted from zoomorphic imagery, indicating that some of the other Everglades style incising may be associated with animal designs. Cruciform motifs are known to occur on Weeden Island ceramics, though this motif is far more common on the pottery of the Fort Walton culture. Baton-shaped bone pins or combs with diamond-shaped recesses are also associated with the Mississippian Safety Harbor and Fort Walton cultures (see discussion under Mississippian Style).

Loop and pendent-loop motifs. Several carved bone fragments bear loop motifs or what may be better described as pendent-loop motifs. Often these designs appear to have been part of larger panels or registers that wrapped around bone implements. One specimen from Granada exhibits the ingenious use of symmetry in the manner in which the pendent-loops have been executed (Figure 7-13c). Other examples from the same site are less organized, but also include pendent-loop motifs (Figure 7-13a-b). Pendent-loops also are a component of the peninsular geometric style, where they are related to avian images, specifically feather and tail-feather motifs (compare with the examples in Figures 7-8 and 7-9, as well as the head of the bone pin fragment from Cheetum in Figure 7-12a and the pin from Tamiami Trail 1 in Figure 7-15a, also see Wheeler 1992c).

Zoned-hatched motif. Only small fragments of bone objects with a zoned-hatched motif have been recovered. Figure 7-14 illustrates several fragments with this motif, including two unprovenanced specimens from Dade County (Figure 7-14a-b), and one from Granada (Figure 7-14c). It is possible that this design is more closely aligned with the rectilinear forms of the peninsular geometric style mentioned above, which often have zoned-hatched diamond forms.

Zoned-punctated motif. The use of zoned-punctations is also fairly common on southern Florida specimens (see Figure 7-15). The punctations are not particularly organized, but are usually enclosed within incised zones. Specimens examined within this design category include an unprovenanced fragment of bird bone from Dade County (Figure 7-15f), and another fragment of bird bone from Granada (Figure 7-15e), both of which may have been beads. An engraved pin fragment from Tamiami Trail 1 combines zoned-punctuation with pendent-loops, as well as another figure, perhaps best described as a "barred-oval" motif, not unlike that known from Mississippian-era artifacts (Figure 7-15a). The Tamiami Trail specimen is related in many ways to the decorated bone of the peninsular geometric style, including the manner in which curvilinear elements form a central diamond and in the rays or lines that emanate from the pendent-loops at the terminal end. An unusual pin fragment

from Honey Hills (8DA411) has a raised façade on its obverse side with an incised rectangle and punctated design (Figure 7-15c); the reverse side bears a similar design executed primarily with punctations. Raised façades are known on southern Florida effigy style bone carvings. Additional specimens from Granada with zoned-punctated or incised and punctated designs include a bone pin fragment and a bone flute or flageolet (Figure 7-15b, d).

Summary

The decorated bone artifacts of the Everglades style appear to draw on motifs from the peninsular geometric style of carving as well as the Safety Harbor pottery described above. As with the peninsular style of carving, the use of abstract geometric motifs represents a dramatic divergence from the naturalistic zoomorphic carvings in bone and wood that characterize the bulk of Glades tradition art. It should be remembered that zoomorphic carving persists alongside the new geometric carving style, but the two design sets are rarely combined. The presence of these geometric motifs in southeastern Florida is extremely important in understanding the internal and external relationships of Glades tradition people.

The use of incising, punctations, and zoned-punctations on decorated bone from southeastern Florida lends itself to comparison with the decorated ceramics of the Safety Harbor culture (A.D. 900-1750), centered on the central Gulf Coast

(see above discussion). Safety Harbor, related in many ways to the Mississippian cultures of the southeastern United States, also employs incising, zoned-punctuation, and pendent-loop motifs. The use of punctations in Safety Harbor times is probably an outgrowth of the earlier Weeden Island complex, in which punctations were a major decorative element. Temporally, incised and punctated bone pre-dates Safety Harbor. However, there is a florescence of decorated bone during Glades III, coincident with the Safety Harbor culture and other Mississippian manifestations in Florida.

I have also noted the influence of the bone carving style associated with the St. Johns and Indian River areas. The combination of the rectilinear guilloche of the east coast with the interlocking pattern of southeastern Florida, as well as the reinterpretation of the curvilinear designs of the former area suggest some relationships with this design tradition. However, the use of punctations is conservative at best in the peninsular geometric style, and the designs of each area, when combined, remain distinct.

The relationship of the decorative traditions mentioned above may involve more layers than originally suspected. Richardson and Pohl (1982:138) note a general increase in decorated bone during the Glades III period at the Granada site. Most decorated bone artifacts examined for this study date to Glades II and III periods. This coincides with Everglades area contacts with the Safety Harbor culture. It

seems likely that the older decorative tradition of the Everglades area, already relying on incised and punctated motifs, was renewed by an infusion of designs from adjacent style areas.

Mississippian-influenced style

Mississippian-influenced style bone carvings include the distinctive baton-like pins or combs with deeply engraved diamond motifs, as well as animal imagery directly derived from Mississippian shell gorgets and associated artifacts (Wheeler 1992a, 1992c). The baton-shaped pins are known from burial and habitation contexts from sites in geographically disparate areas; examples have been recovered from Lake Jackson (8LE1) (Richardson and Pohl 1982:157), Picnic (8HI3) (Bullen 1952:65-66), Granada (Richardson and Pohl 1982:157), and Coral Springs (Williams 1970:143-144). Recall that baton emblems are found in the SECC, with examples incised on Safety Harbor ceramics, and life-size specimens coming from Key Marco, Spiro, Oklahoma, and other major SECC centers (see above discussion, and Chapter 5). Examples of these baton-like pins are illustrated in Figure 7-16.

The representation of the baton device in miniature is another dramatic shift in bone artifact carving. The shift is essentially from the naturalism of the "osseous bestiary" discussed in Chapter 4 to a symbol of human practice--the baton. Again, this suggests a split or at least the

development of two broad style schools, one which focuses on the newly popular symbols of human agency (either humans or elements of human material culture), and a more conservative style that maintains a focus on animal imagery. As noted above, these two styles are rarely combined on the same artifact. The diamond motif that adorns all of the bone representations of batons or maces may align these specimens with the peninsular geometric style described above. A similar geographic distribution is shared by both styles, and the diamond is a prominent motif shared by both. Many of the miniature batons also appear to be tenoned, again possibly functioning as feather holders.

This new development in Glades tradition art closely parallels shifts in other parts of the Southeast and Florida, and is likely the result of contact with these other groups. This shift also suggests an emergent class of rulers or priestly figures who desire their symbols of power to be represented in their ornament and art. As noted above, zoöomorphic imagery remains relatively unchanged, and continues in production alongside the new forms and designs. Safety Harbor ceramics parallel this situation to some extent, in that they integrate elements of Weeden Island and Mississippian traditions, one with a strong basis in animal imagery and naturalism, and the other with an emphasis on human imagery and ambivalent animal imagery (though this is almost unknown in Safety Harbor). Both of these cases are

distinct from the shift observed from Weeden Island to Fort Walton pottery in the panhandle, where the Mississippian pattern largely replaces the earlier Hopewellian and Hopewellian-derived arts.

Decorated Antler from Margate-Blount

Examples of decorated antler from Margate-Blount (8BD41) are clearly associated with Safety Harbor and Mississippian design and imagery, including the use of scroll, pendent-loop, zoned-punctated, and cross-hatched motifs (see Figures 7-17 and 7-18). The three examples illustrated here were recovered by the Broward County Archaeological Society from what could best be described as a "ceremonial precinct." Other components of the site include a village midden and cemetery. Within the ceremonial precinct artifacts were buried, perhaps as ritual offerings, along with the remains of alligators, rattlesnakes, turtles, and raccoons that were ritually prepared and buried.

The rattlesnake imagery found on the antler carving from Margate-Blount (see Figures 7-17) mimics that known on shell gorgets from Tennessee (see Kneberg 1959; Muller 1966). The Pine Harbor site of coastal Georgia is the nearest locality producing similar imagery (Cook and Pearson 1989:153). Pine Harbor has produced artifacts with designs that closely resemble Safety Harbor Incised ceramics and some of the geometric bone carvings discussed here (Larson

1955, 1958). The antler carving illustrated in Figure 7-17b combines a variety of motifs, many that have direct analogs in Safety Harbor motifs. The combination of motifs, as well as the overall form of the carving, helps confirm that these are components of rattlesnake imagery. This interpretation may help in understanding these motifs when they appear as isolates on Safety Harbor pottery or other decorated bone artifacts.

The artifact illustrated in Figure 7-18 represents a rather stylized vulture, with large round eyes, down-curving beak, and bald wrinkled head. The shaft of the artifact is adorned with pendent-loop motifs and a modified cross-in-circle motif. Like its rattlesnake counterpart, this image is highly abstracted and combines geometric designs and zoöomorphic imagery, an extremely rare occurrence in Glades tradition art. The choice of animals is also highly suggestive, since the rattlesnake and vulture appear together on several Weeden Island vessels (see Figure 6-10).

The Margate-Blount artifacts are a rare and interesting merger of Safety Harbor and Mississippian designs with animal forms that clearly are related to older patterns within Weeden Island and Glades arts. These objects are rather anomalous, since all other artifacts of southeastern Florida are either naturalistic zoöomorphic carvings or the decorated geometric feather holders. The Margate-Blount artifacts exhibit the same pattern described for Safety

Harbor ceramics, where earlier designs and forms are merged with introduced Mississippian ones. The antler artifacts considered here, along with their context in a ceremonial precinct with attendant animal offerings, suggest that earlier patterns are being preserved, with some overlay of the extra-local Mississippian designs. Considering the prominence of the new geometric designs described for the peninsular and Everglades styles it is probable that the earlier patterns of animal symbolism and ritual are coexistent with styles associated with the new elites who have focused ritual and symbolism on warfare and political power.

Human Idols or Effigies

Goggin (n.d.:591-593) included in his original definition of the "Glades Cult" the wooden idols or effigies of humans found primarily at sites around Lake Okeechobee (Figures 7-19 and 7-20). Six of these figurines are known, and all share a number of features, including a similar pose, elaborate hair style and a standard size around 20.0 to 25.0 cm. Four of the human wooden effigies are carved in a squatting or kneeling position, and several examples have their hands resting on their knees. Two examples are standing. Most are weathered, and incised details have been obscured. Elaborate hairstyles are common to all pieces, and some of the better preserved specimens have facial features and details of dress and personal ornamentation.

These human figurines have been primarily recovered from muck sites around Lake Okeechobee, though one example was found in the Tomoka River, coastal Flagler County (Kenner 1974).

Fewkes (1928) reported the first of these human images, carved of *lignum vitae*, which was found on the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee in 1921. It has since been figured in Fundaburk and Foreman (1957:Pl. 141) and Purdy (1991:257-258). This specimen is in a squatting position, with hands resting on knees. Some details of the face include deep-set eyes, ears, nose and lips, as well as a long mane of hair flowing down the individual's back.

The other squatting figure was recovered from the Tomoka River, opposite several extensive coastal shell middens. Overall the figure is around ten inches, and is resting on a platform. Carefully carved details include chevron-shaped eyebrows connecting with the nose, excised eyes, lips, small ears, and an elaborate coiffure. The figure is surmounted with a top knot, and the hair has been pulled into a bun at the rear of the head, tied, and allowed to fall freely down the back. This figurine was radiocarbon-dated to 470 ± 90 B.P. (A.D. 1390-1570), suggesting a late protocontact or contact era date (Purdy 1988, 1991:238-239). Purdy (1988:642-643, 1991:238-239) reports that this figure is carved of *Peltophorum* spp., a tropical hardwood, and notes that this genus is not native

to Florida. Considering the style of the figurine (cf. the example from 8GL30 discussed below), and the presence of other Glades tradition materials in northeastern and eastern Florida, it seems likely that this piece was made by an artist participating in the Glades tradition. The exotic wood may have been traded by natives from the Caribbean, or may have been part of a cargo from a wrecked Spanish ship. It is also possible that *Peltophorum* spp. was present in the hammock flora of extreme southern Florida, where tropical plants of South American and the Caribbean occur (Long 1974).

Two figures were recovered from the Hart site (8PB42) during the 1930s WPA projects near Belle Glade. Both Willey (1949a:57; Pl. 13k) and Purdy (1991:72; Fig. 25) illustrate the more complete of the two, and indicate the specimens were from the Belle Glade mound (8PB41), though Goggin (n.d.:593) makes a point of assigning the pieces to the Hart site. Unlike the other human "idols," these are both standing figures. Details of the head, body, and feet align the specimen illustrated here with the other human carvings.

A fragmentary human carving was found near Pahokee, Palm Beach County, and acquired in 1928 by Karl Riddle. The details of the discovery of this figure are reported by Purdy (1991:243-244). I examined this carving at the Historical Society of Palm Beach. It is a kneeling figure, carved of cypress, which had arms extended and hands resting

on knees, though the arms are broken at the shoulders. Plow scars dating to the discovery of the figure cut across the surface, and much of the facial details are weathered away. An elaborate hairstyle extends down the back of the figure's head. The projection on the left side of the figure's head is enigmatic, but may be part of a headdress. An interesting feature is a goatee beard.

Another kneeling figure was recovered from Palm Hammock (8GL30). Goggin (n.d.:592-593) describes this specimen, which was recovered by Bob Padgett in 1929. The photographs included here were made by Goggin (see Figure 7-20). I recently had the privilege of examining this piece, which is very heavy and still in excellent condition. It appears to be made of a pine lighter knot. Excepting the Tomoka River figurine, this is one of the best preserved human carvings. Unlike the Pahokee specimen, which had hands resting on knees, this example is kneeling on a small platform, and the arms extend down to the platform. Features of the face include chevron-shaped eyebrows joining with a rectangular nose, round eyes, lips, and small ears. The most unusual feature of this specimen is the tight-fitting skin cap or headdress, which has animal ears positioned over the forehead. Paired incised lines may represent cord used in affixing the headdress to the head. An elaborate hair-knot emerges from the rear of the headgear. No clothing is exhibited, though a V-shaped necklace is portrayed around

the neck, and a belt with circular bustle adorns the waist. As Goggin (n.d.:592) notes, the figure appears to be human, but has an overall feline cast.

The role of these figures remains rather enigmatic, considering the lack of detailed provenance for any of the specimens. Comparison with stone figurines from other sites in the Southeast may suggest some parallels. Fundaburk and Foreman (1957:Pls. 97-98) illustrate a series of stone figures, depicting humans in kneeling and squatting poses. Unlike the Florida examples, these include males and females, though similar details of coiffure, facial features and overall morphology would suggest some relationship between the wood and stone carvings. Emerson (1982) illustrates a series of human effigies in stone from Illinois, noting two types--the seated or kneeling figures, and those engaged in some specific activity. The Florida examples most closely parallel the former style. Larson (Kelley and Larson 1957:43) found the famous male-female pair of stone, placed in mortuary crypts at the Etowah mounds. Similar wood examples were recovered from Spiro, Oklahoma (Hamilton et al. 1952:40, 149-150). Swanton summarizes ethnohistoric sources relating to the Southeast, some of which suggest these are ancestor figures, specifically of the ruling lineage (Swanton 1946). Brose et al. (1985:174) also feel these stone, ceramic, and wood figures are mortuary in nature, perhaps portraits of the

lineage founders, "culture heroes," or guardians of the bones. Eventually these figures would be buried, just as any honored dead.

Like many of the other categories of artifacts described above for the late Glades tradition, these wooden idols appear to be a Mississippian-related mortuary or ceremonial feature. The absence of female effigies may be due to the small sample size, or actually reflect a focus on male imagery. This focus might result from influences of the neighboring Weeden Island tradition, in which exclusively male effigies were involved in mortuary ceremonials. Again, the wooden effigies are an example of Mississippian art, reinterpreted in a Glades tradition style.

Perhaps the most interesting figurine is the Palm Hammock specimen originally documented by Goggin (n.d.:592-593). As noted above this specimen combines human and animal features, but in a different manner than Key Marco and Weeden Island anthropomorphism already discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Unlike the Key Marco feline, which has enigmatic human features, the Palm Hammock carving is distinctively human with elements of a feline or animal disguise. This suggests a new focus on distinctively human images, perhaps reflecting a developing priesthood or a stronger institutionalized role for the leaders of religious cult or sociopolitical units. The animal elements are no

longer the focal point of artistic expression, but are retained, perhaps in an attempt to legitimize new authorities. This focus is paralleled in Safety Harbor ceramics where human imagery, primarily human hands or heads, are occasionally depicted and given some special treatment after the ritual breakage of the ceramic vessels they originally adorned. The appearance of the baton device on ceramics and as a miniature hair or clothing pin also reinforces the increasing importance of the human or human power in belief.

Late Glades Tradition

The arts of the late phase represent a series of local, often interrelated, Mississippian-related art styles. As with previous phases of the Glades tradition defined, a blending of local and exotic elements produces an innovative set of forms and designs. The fact that contact with extralocal styles is more than ephemeral is confirmed by the regular stylistic conventions that can be recognized. Varying degrees of contact and influence, as well as previous regional sub-traditions, help define the late phase. The fact that Safety Harbor ceramics are produced in an area previously participating in the Weeden Island tradition is hardly surprising. This is paralleled in the panhandle, where Fort Walton ceramics replace Weeden Island forms, and in the St. Johns area to a lesser extent. A continued focus on bone and wood carving and engraving in

southeastern and eastern Florida maintains the feeling of earlier phases. The recognition of Mississippian elements in these areas, specifically the former, is significant. It turns a marginal area into a major center of innovation and design production. The bone and antler engravings of the late phase represent a significant shift in representation, akin to that observed in Safety Harbor ceramics. This shift is primarily toward images of human authority, and moves away from the previous naturalism so characteristic of the area. Most notable among the antler engravings are the specimens from Margate-Blount, which seem to combine traditional forms with motifs closely associated with Mississippian shell engraving. The relationship between the southern Florida material and that of the Southeast requires further study. The wooden figurines are another excellent example of the reinterpretation of Mississippian imagery in local media and form. Elements of Hopewellian, Weeden Island, and Glades styles are evidenced in the wood figures, which may be analogs to the ancestor figures known from temples throughout the Southeast.

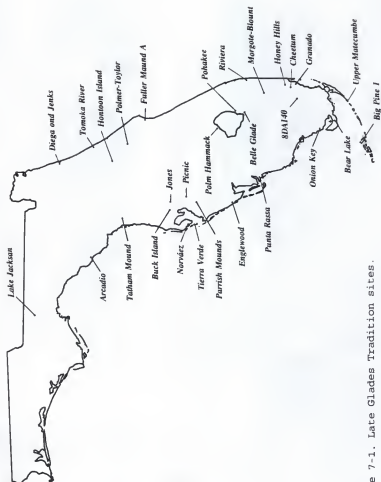


Figure 7-1. Late Glades Tradition sites.

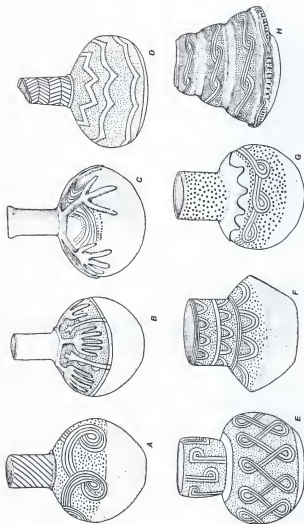


Figure 7-2. Safety Harbor bottles. a, reconstructed drawing, Tierra Verde (8P11692) (after Sears 1967:Fig. 8); b, reconstructed drawing, human hand applique, Tierra Verde (after Sears 1967:Fig. 8); c, human hand and bird feet applique, 8S070 or 8S077 (Luer 1993:Fig. 3); d-e, Arcadia (8DE1) (after Willey 1949a:Fig. 63); f, reconstructed drawing, Tierra Verde (after Sears 1967:Fig. 9); g, Tierra Verde (after Sears 1967:Fig. 9); h, terraced vessel, Polk County, FLNMH 15243. All approximately to scale: d, 26.0 cm; e, 26.0 cm; f, 20.0 cm.

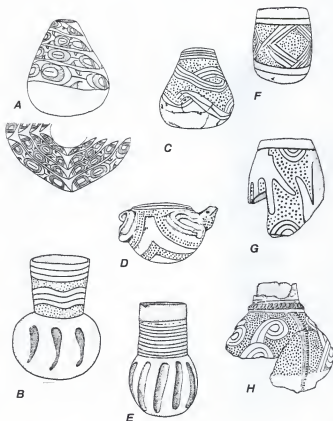


Figure 7-3. Safety Harbor vessels. a, conical jar with feather or serpent motif, Parrish Md. 3 (8MA3) (after Stirling 1935:Pl. 2; and Willey 1949a:Fig. 64; compare with incised figurine from Georgia, Larson 1955); b, gourd-shaped vessel, Arcadia (after Willey 1949a:480); c, conical jar, Jones (8HI4) (after Bullen 1952:58-59); d, frog effigy vessel, Picnic (8HI3), FLMNH 76660; e, gourd-shaped vessel, Englewood (8S01) (after Willey 1949a:Pl. 46f); f, cylindrical jar, Buck Island (8HI6) (after Bullen 1952:76-77); g, hand motif, Tierra Verde (after Warren et al. 1965:Fig. 5); h, bottle with tumpline applique, Bayport (after Moore 1903b:418). All to scale: a, 10.0 cm; b, 14.0 cm; c, 10.0 cm; d, 9.0 cm; g, 7.5 cm; h, 14.2 cm.



Figure 7-4. Safety Harbor Incised bottle, True site (8S05). Photograph from the Goggin Collection, reproduced with permission, Florida Museum of Natural History.



Figure 7-5. Safety Harbor Incised bottle, Picnic, FLMNH 76661. Note hand and eye(?) motif, as well as champlévé at base of neck. Reproduced with permission, Florida Museum of Natural History.

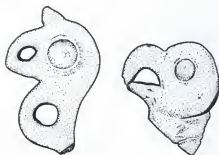
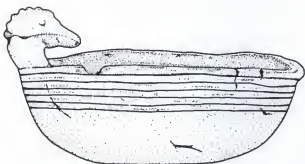


Figure 7-6. Point Washington Incised vessel with bird head adorno, Tatham (8CI203), FLMNH 88-19-27 (top); bird head adornos removed from vessels, the smaller of the two has been reworked into a pendant (bottom) (after Moore 1900:376).



Figure 7-7. Safety Harbor Incised with medallion heads. a, Safety Harbor Incised, 8LL8, private collection; b, sherd with adorno, Old Okahumpka (from Moore 1895:542); c-d, detached adornos, unprovenienced specimens from southwestern Florida (from Luer 1986:282, used by permission of the author).

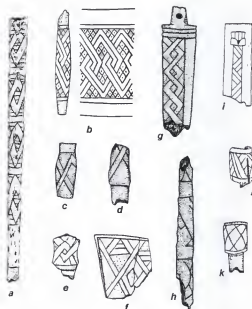


Figure 7-8. Rectilinear motifs in bone. a, pin, Hontoon Island (8VO202), FBAR; b, pin, Upper Matecumbe (8MO17) (after Goggin and Sommer 1949:48-49); c, pin, Onion Key (8MO49) (after Griffin 1988:109); d, pin fragment, Riviera (8PB30), FAU; e, pin head, Granada (8DA11), FBAR 78-101-330-4; f, flat pin fragment, Hontoon Island, FBAR; g, pin, Fuller (8BR90) (after Rouse 1951:Pl. 5); h, pin fragment, Palmer-Taylor (8SE18), YPM 128481; i, engraved bone with rectilinear and tail feather motifs, Narzáez (8PI54) (after Gamble and Warren 1966:154); j, feather holder, Granada, FBAR 78-101-450-6; k, feather holder, Granada, FBAR 78-101-38-95. All to scale: a, 12.4 cm; e, 2.0 cm; j, 2.1 cm.

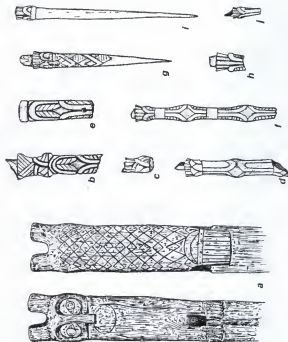


Figure 7-9. Curvilinear motifs in bone. a, owl totem, Hontoon Island (after Bullen 1955); b, bone pin with feather motif, Granada, FBAR; c, Granada, FBAR 78-101-139-4; d, pin with feather and tail feather motif, Hontoon Island, FBAR; e, pendant with feather motif, Hontoon Island, FBAR; f, pin with feather motif, Alderman (8V0135), Rollins College; g, pin with tail feather and rectilinear guilloche motifs, Belle Glade (8PB41), NMNH-SI 383693; h, pin head with tail feather motif, South Indian Field (8BR23) (after Ferguson 1951:Pl. 4c); i, pin with tail feather motif, Belle Glade, NMNH-SI 383693; j, Granada, FBAR 78-101-140-5. All to scale: b, 4.7 cm; d, 5.7 cm; 7.2 cm; except a, owl is approximately 2.0 m.



Figure 7-10. Knot and braid motifs. a, bone pin, Granada (8DA11), FBAR 78-101-184-4; b-c, bone pendants, 8DA140, HMSF 2343.1 and 2343.2. All to scale: a, 5.1 cm; c, 6.5 cm.

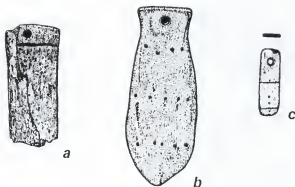


Figure 7-11. Bone pendants, punctated motif. a, Upper Matecumbe (8MO17), HMSF 1992.3; b, Bear Lake (8MO33) (after Griffin 1988:109); c, Margate-Blount (8BD41), BCAS. All to scale: a, 3.5 cm; b, 5.7 cm.

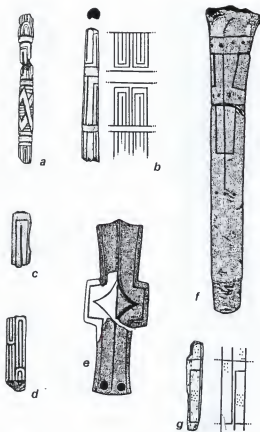


Figure 7-12. Interlocking motif. a, bone pin with feather, rectilinear guilloche, and interlocking motifs, Cheetum (8DA1058), HMSF 2973.1; b, pin fragment, Big Pine 1 (8MO7), FLMNH 93325; c, pin fragment, Granada, FBAR 78-101-171-30; d, pin fragment, Dade County, HMSF 2342.2; e, cruciform pendant, Cheetum, HMSF 1274; f, bone handle with cruciform and punctated motif, private collection; g, pin fragment, Granada, FBAR 78-101-677-6. All to scale: b, 5.0 cm; e, 6.4 cm; f, 11.75 cm.



Figure 7-13. Loop and pendent-loop motifs. a-c, bone pin and tablet fragments, Granada; a, FBAR 78-101-423-10; b, FBAR 78-101-620-1; c, FBAR 78-101-342-6. All to scale: a, 2.4 cm; b, 2.2 cm; c, 2.0 cm.



Figure 7-14. Zoned-hatched motif. a-b, bone fragments, Dade County, c, bone fragment, Granada; a, HMSF 2342.4; b, HMSF 2342.5; c, FBAR 78-101-425-7. All to scale: a, 1.4 cm; b, 2.5 cm; c, 1.6 cm.

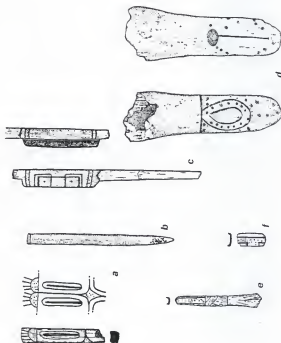


Figure 7-15. Zoned-punctated motif. a, bone pin with barred oval and feather motifs, Tamiami Trail 1 (8DA33), HMSF 1298; b, bone pin, Granada, FBAR 78-101-696-1; c, pin with raised facade and engraved design, Honey Hills (8DA411), HMSF 40.6.7; d, bone flute or flageolet, Granada, FBAR; e, bone tube, Granada, FBAR 78-101-677-6; f, bone tube, Dade County, HMSF 2342.6. All to scale: a, 3.8 cm; d, 8.0 cm.

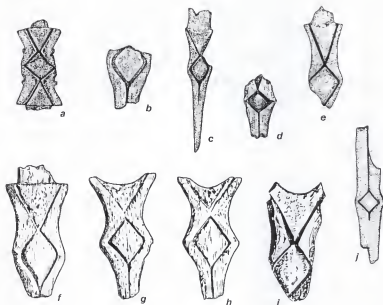


Figure 7-16. Baton-shaped bone pins. a, Granada, FBAR 78-101-462-3; b, fish bone, Granada, FBAR 78-101-19-136; c, Granada, FBAR; d, Granada, FBAR 78-101-24-59; e, Lake Jackson, 8LE1 (after Richardson and Pohl 1982:169); f-h, Picnic (8HI3) (redrawn from photos in the Goggin Collection, FLMNH); i, Coral Springs (8BD50) (after Williams 1970:144); j, Diego and Jenks Mounds (8SJ8), NMNH-SI 31738 (redrawn from sketches in Goggin fieldbook 1944II, on file at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History). All to scale: a, 4.4 cm; b, 2.9 cm; c, 7.0 cm; d, 3.1 cm; e, 5.1 cm; f, 6.5 cm; g, 6.2 cm; h, 6.1 cm; i, 5.8 cm.



Figure 7-17. Mississippian style antler carvings, Margate-Blount (8BD41). a, fragment of engraved antler with concentric arc motif; b, carved and engraved antler rattlesnake effigy with volute, scroll, loop, arc, nested chevron and punctated design. Collection of Broward County Archaeological Society. All to scale: b, 14.8 cm.



Figure 7-18. Antler carving, Margate-Blount. Vulture effigy with modified swastika or cross-in-circle motif (BCAS), 5.2 cm. Reproduced with permission, Graves Museum of Archaeology and Natural History, Dania.

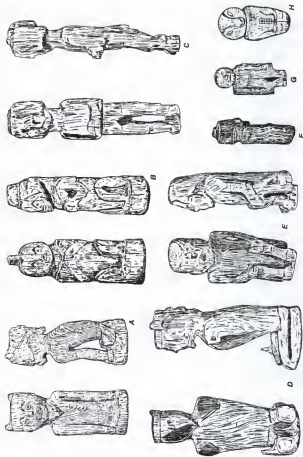


Figure 7-19. Wooden idols. a, Masked figure, Palm Hammock (8GL30); b, Tomoka River, Flagler County (after Kenner 1974:8; and Purdy 1991:248-249); c, Hart (8PB42) (after Willey 1949b:Pl. 13; and Purdy 1991:78-79); d, Pahokee, Historical Society of Palm Beach County; e, northern shore of Lake Okeechobee (after Fewkes 1928:Pl. 1); f, Key Marco (8CR49) (after Gilliland 1975:Pls. 72-73); g, Key Marco, UM 40914; h, 8GL31, SPM A143. Smaller specimens have Hopewellian and Weeden Island characteristics. All to scale: a, 20.3 cm; b, 22.9 cm; c, 27.9 cm; d, 23.5 cm; e, 20.3 cm; f, 14.0 cm; g, 10.9 cm; h, 11.4 cm.



Figure 7-20. Wooden idol, Palm Hammock (8GL30). Photographs from the Goggin Collection, FLMNH. Reproduced with permission, Florida Museum of Natural History.

CHAPTER 8 TERMINAL GLADES TRADITION

The artifacts recovered or reworked from Spanish shipwreck materials and placed with burials dating to the Glades IIIC period represent a final expression of the Glades tradition. Interestingly, these materials are of a personal nature, and appear to represent a synthesis of personal and corporate forms known in earlier eras. For example, metal ceremonial tablets are a distinctive artifact of this terminal phase. These small pendants probably have their origin in the duckbill plectrums of the Hopewellian horizon, though recall their large analogs in wood at Key Marco. The small metal form suggests some change in the relationship of these objects to their makers and users, possibly reminiscent of the earlier stone and bone examples described in Chapters 2 and 4.

A considerable portion of this material is basically Spanish jewelry, or precious metals stolen by the Spanish from Middle and South American Indians and reworked into native arts. In some cases objects manufactured by Mesoamerican or South American artisans are recovered from contact era contexts in Florida, suggesting that these items remained unaltered by the Spanish or Florida Natives.

As with previous manifestations of Glades tradition art, examples of the late phase arts are known from the St. Johns River basin and the region around Tampa Bay. Figure 8-1 illustrates major terminal Glades tradition sites discussed here.

Culture Contact and Culture Change

Following initial contact with Europeans in the early 16th century, the natives of southern and eastern Florida experienced a dramatic decline in population (Sturtevant 1962; Dobyns 1983). Some two hundred fifty years later the cultural patterns documented in this study had vanished from the landscape. Sturtevant (1978) discusses the departure of the last of the southern Florida tribes following transfer of Florida to British rule, and Milanich (1995) mentions records of some of these expatriates in Cuba during the late 18th century. It is possible that remaining natives were assimilated into immigrating Creek groups who eventually became the Seminole and Miccosukee (Swanton 1922: 344; Neill 1955). Shifts in social, political, religious, and economic institutions accompanied the population decline and intrusion of European and neighboring aboriginal groups. The Spanish and European presence was accompanied by an introduction of trade goods and shipwreck cargos, including glass beads, iron implements, silver, gold, and other exotic metals. Much of the precious metal was of Middle or South American origin. Despite the extraordinary changes

occurring in the lives of the Florida natives, artistic traditions were maintained and transformed, incorporating the introduced metals and other foreign materials.

Leader (1985) has made a technological study of the metalwork recovered from contact era burials at Fort Center. Microscopic, xeroradiographic and replication analyses demonstrate the aboriginal manufacture of much of the metal ornaments described below. Presumably Leader's conclusions can be extended to include most terminal phase metalwork. Native artists not only made cut-outs with repoussé decoration, but also used techniques of groundstone and shell tool production to rework heavy cast metals, as well as casting small objects like beads.

Regarding the tenacity of native cultural and artistic patterns following contact, the Florida example is not unique. King (1986) discusses several situations in which European contact led to changes and additions in artistic traditions. Western, northeastern, and plains Indian groups that obtained large quantities of metals each experienced different changes in clothing, decorative, and artistic styles. King (1986:80) illustrates a series of European silver crosses reworked by Kiowa artists to reflect native iconography and symbolism. Brain (1988:405) describes reworked or "innovative" artifacts manufactured from European goods by the Tunica of Louisiana. One particularly innovative form is the glass pendants cast from ground and

melted beads. Gregory (1965:80-82) reports on a series of Louisiana silver artifacts reworked from European-introduced metals that parallel some of the more common Florida forms. Smith (1987:36-41) documents that brass trade goods were reworked into traditional shapes by the Indians of the interior Southeast. Hill (1995:90-91) has recently documented a phenomena prevalent throughout Florida and the Caribbean where thimbles obtained from Spanish and other European sources were reworked to serve as bells or ornaments. Examination of collections from the region of southern Florida confirms this use of reworked thimbles with other items of Spanish jewelry. These examples parallel the terminal phase metalwork of Florida, though I have found no other area or group with the diversity of reworked metal and glass, with the possible exception of the Navajo. Within Quimby and Spoehr's (1951) analysis of acculturation and material culture, much of the terminal phase artifacts would be considered innovative or modified forms. Further, they suggest that artifact shapes are more resilient to contact than two-dimensional designs (Quimby and Spoehr 1951:146-147). In terminal phase metalwork the opposite may be true, with maintenance of designs and introduction of new forms, probably the result of the new media.

Kubler (1971) takes a different perspective on the survival of native art, noting that what is actually in evidence is the extinction of native art. Kubler's

(1971:225-226) model suggests that religious beliefs, aesthetic symbols, and symbolic knowledge (i.e., language, myth) are the first cultural elements to be lost following culture contact and colonization. Kubler is right, of course, as the present situation regarding Native Floridians attests. The fact that the natives of southern Florida violently resisted Spanish colonization and domination helps explain the persistence of traditional cultural patterns. This resistance allowed time to develop art styles in the new media. Feest (1992:40) refers to "golden periods" of tribal art that flourish shortly after European contact, and then wane with increasing pressure from the new arrivals. As Feest (1992:42-43) notes, artistic acculturation is rare or selective, and considering the lack of intimate and long term contact with the Spanish is not likely the case regarding the terminal Glades tradition. The themes and motifs discussed below follow from "developed" and late Glades tradition iconography, as discussed above and in the preceding chapter. There appear to be correspondences between the Glades art of this era and the classic and late SECC. It is possible, however, that the use of gold, silver, and copper-alloys obtained from Spanish shipwrecks represents some attempt to by the natives to ally themselves with the powerful intruders. Considering the importance placed on artistic media by Glades artists it seems likely that the foreign metals have some inherent or ascribed

meaning. This signification could represent a form of acculturation, or an attempt to capture the power of the Spanish through the reworking of their prized wealth into traditional native forms.

Ceremonial Tablets

The ceremonial tablets, made primarily of contact era metals, but also known in stone and wood, have long been a subject of discussion and controversy among Florida archaeologists. Objects of this type were first illustrated and discussed in the late 19th century (Douglass 1890; Moore 1896; Walker 1880). A vast array of theories relating to the origin, function and purpose of these objects has been offered, ranging from Douglass' (1890) suggestion of Christian symbology, to Griffin's (1946) theory of spider and Southern Cult imagery, to Sears' (1977) indication that Olmec were-jaguar imagery is evidenced in the tablets. McGoun (1981) proposes a functional explanation, claiming that the tablets are Calusa "badges of conquest," while Widmer (1989) has most recently suggested that the tablets indicate some connection between Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the 16th century Calusa. It should be noted that most of these metal tablets are found in the region around Lake Okeechobee, and not in the Caloosahatchee Area (see tallies in Figure 8-2). Recently an effort has been made to document these objects, analyze the proposed hypotheses, and provide some cultural context for the tablets (Allerton et

al. 1984; Luer 1985b; Luer 1994). Allerton et al. (1984:18, Fig. 5) have revived aspects of earlier interpretations in suggesting a zoöomorphic quality for the tablets. This argument is strengthened in their comparison of tablet shapes and design elements with the eyes and other facial characteristics found on metal, shell, wood and bone artifacts that clearly represent animals.

The tablets have unfortunately fallen into the same void as the elaborate artifacts of Key Marco, namely their spurious association with the Calusa. Much of this confusion was reinforced by the geographic zones of occurrence defined in Allerton et al. (1984:8), which seemed to indicate that most tablets did, indeed, come from the Caloosahatchee area. In reworking the distributional data it becomes clear that most tablets come from the region around Lake Okeechobee (see the map in Figure 8-2). Luer (1994) has added some additional metal tablets and reworked some of the data originally presented on the tablets to reflect style areas, modifying the map in Allerton et al. (1984), and incorporating the comments of Griffin (1988). In this most recent article, Luer (1994) uses the terms "style" or "zone style" to refer to particular characteristics (i.e., composition, morphology, design elements) of the tablets defined in Allerton et al. (1984). Luer (1994; personal communication, 1995) suggests that there are at least four metal tablet styles. Stylistic

analysis based on tablet morphology and design elements produce a total of seven tablet styles. Some overlap in morphology and ornamentation results in the model of relationships depicted in Figure 8-3. Other artifact classes, such as crested woodpeckers or kite-shaped pendants, could be articulated with this model.

Temporally, metal tablets probably existed throughout the terminal phase, and this long duration may account for some of the stylistic variation described below. The impression of a coin on some of the metalwork from Fort Center and analysis of the glass beads helps place the tablets from that site around the beginning of the 17th century (Leader 1985:57-58). Brain (1979:98) assigned the beads from Goodnow (8HG6), another tablet site, to the late-17th/early-18th century. Luer (1994:181-182) suggests 17th and early 18th century assignments for other tablets, including those from Mound Key. This site produced several classes of artifacts suggestive of a late date, perhaps mid or late-18th century, including Punta Rassa tear-drop pendants, and a sword hilt dating to the reign of Charles III or IV of Spain (Goggin n.d.:627-628).

Classic style. The classic or widespread metal tablet style is composed of three parts, namely the flat tenoned half, the hinge-like medial portion, and the spatulate and convex half (see Figure 8-4). The tenon-like projection is usually perforated, suggesting suspension from a cord. In

some cases the tenon perforation has broken-out and additional perforations have been made to allow for continued use. Distinctive design elements, or slight variants, adorn the different portions of the tablets. The tenoned portion typically has a cross-and-circle motif. This motif is ubiquitous in SECC art (Waring and Holder 1945; Howard 1968). The vertical element of the cross-and-circle motif often extends across the spatulate half of the tablet. The spatulate half of the tablet is also adorned with teardrop motifs and nested rectangles. The reverse side, if decorated, is often divided into quadrants with alternating vertical lines and crescent shapes.

Fort Center style. The tablets known from Fort Center (8GL13) and Partin (8OS11) vary slightly from the classic style described above. This variation primarily has to do with the large size and quality of manufacture (see Figure 8-5). Other variations include an outward-curving teardrop motif on MT# 26 and MT# 29, as well as variants in the cross-and-circle (the circle is absent from MT# 28 and MT# 29) and reverse side design elements. Two of the Fort Center tablets have nested arcs below the teardrop motif, which allies these specimens with the Zone 4 style.

"Zone 4" or concentric arc style. Luer (1994:183) notes that a group of tablets, all from a cluster of sites in Zone 4, could form a separate style. The most obvious unifying characteristic of these tablets is the concentric

arc motif found below the teardrop design (see Figure 8-6). These concentric arcs correspond to the motif found on the bill of the crested woodpecker ornaments discussed below. Also, the tenoned portion often has a modified version of the cross-and-circle. In some cases only a cross is present. Two examples have incomplete crosses associated with concentric circle motifs. MT# 46 has a cross-and-circle with diagonal rays, giving the appearance of a Union Jack flag.

Nicodemus style. Three tablets, all from Nicodemus (8GL9), share similar morphologic and design element characteristics. These include an elongated medial section, absence of a tenon, and reduced bilateral projections (see Figure 8-7). Similar variations in design elements include out-curving teardrops, nested rhomboid figures rather than rectangles, as well as a "half sun with rays" on the reverse of MT# 14. MT# 13 lacks any incised decoration, as do examples of Zone 3 style tablets. These three tablets may reflect the work of one artist or a "school" of artists working together.

"Zone 3" style. A number of tablets from the area of the Kissimmee River basin appear to form a geographic or area style. These are usually small, squat tablets with highly stylized outlines and no incised decoration (see Figure 8-8). In one case (MT# 32) repoussé adorns the edge of the specimen, much like the edges of the metal disks

discussed below. Perforations are often lacking in the tenon, but occur in other areas of the tablet, often in the medial section. Luer (1994) notes that these Zone 3 style were probably suspended to hang horizontally, rather than vertically. The highly stylized form and lack of any incised decoration make these tablets least like those of the other styles discussed. In two cases these Zone 3 tablets were hammered from Spanish coins, as traces of the raised designs of the coin are still evident (Allerton et al. 1984; Luer 1994). Luer (1994) suggests that the different tablet styles may be the product of tribal boundaries. If so, the Zone 3 style would represent a particular geographic variant manufactured by the Serrope, Jororo and Ais.

Caloosahatchee style. A final geographic style is shared by a number of tablets from the lower southwestern Gulf Coast. The distinguishing feature of these tablets is a distinctive hatched, cross-hatched, or ticked embellishment that fills some of the typical design elements or the background area (see Figure 8-9). MT# 15 from Thomas (8HG7) may also be part of this style. This tablet has both cross-hatched and light ticking as a design characteristic. Several of the Caloosahatchee style tablets were recovered from Mound Key (MT# 3 and MT# 4), a site that also produced the unusual crested woodpecker ornament illustrated in Figure 8-13. All of these pieces share the cross-hatch or

ticking decoration. Repoussé figures are known on two specimens (MT# 18, MT# 38).

Miscellaneous tablets. Three tablets have design variants that distinguish them from the other styles (see Figure 8-10). MT# 16 appears to be formed from thin foil gold that already had a "block-T" motif in repoussé. This piece may have been manufactured from Mesoamerican or South American gold retrieved from a Spanish shipwreck (Allerton et al. 1984:32). Tallant (n.d.) recovered this piece from Rainey Slough (8GL73), and says it was mounted on wood (Branstetter 1991:75). MT# 25 is distinguished from other specimens by the repoussé cross-and-circle on the tenoned half. In all other ways this tablet is in the Classic style. MT# 40 is perhaps the most informative of the metal tablets. Design elements are extreme variants, with elaborate eye-like figures replacing the teardrop motif. Concentric circles and nested L-shaped figures replace the cross-and-circle motif. Also, the circle of the tenoned half is raised in a boss, akin to the circular bosses of the discoidal and rectangular pendants described below.

Summary

The metal tablets appear to be the endpoint in a continuum of related avian and zoöomorphic imagery, specifically that of the spoonbill. The design elements ally the tablets with other metal ornaments of the terminal phase, including the woodpecker "sweat scrapers" and kite-

shaped pendants described below. The stone duckbill pendants of the Hopewellian-related incipient and early Glades tradition are the likely source of the imagery found in later avian representations, including the tablets. Recall also the zoöomorphic bone bead from Mound Key (Figure 4-11) that includes many of the motifs found on tablets. Design elements, like the cross-and-circle, appear to be additions from SECC iconography, grafted onto traditional forms of southern Florida.

The meaning of the duck or spoonbill tablets is enigmatic, but their size and construction suggest use as items of personal adornment. This is in line with the use of the naturalistic spoonbill plummets of the Hopewellian horizon described in Chapter 2, as well as the abstract stone pendants that are similar in design to the later metal forms. The spoonbill also received attention in the more corporate arts of Fort Center and Key Marco, where the bird appears in naturalistic and conventionalized forms. The small and large representations of the spoonbill and other avifauna point to a connection between human actors and the corporate symbols of community ritual. Recall that the spoonbill also served as a symbol, both naturalistic and conventional, among the Ohio Hopewell culture, where the actual birds were nothing more than occasional strays (Allen 1942:47). Evidence also suggests that Hopewellian ritual

specialists or shaman incorporated the spoonbill into their ritual masks and costumes.

The conventionalized depiction of the spoonbill in the late metal working arts of the Glades traditions may be an artistic and symbolic attempt to reestablish older, more traditional patterns in the face of the changes wrought by SECC and Spanish influence. On the other hand, the conventionalized spoonbill effigies of metal may be an effort by elites to appropriate the symbols of earlier patterns of authority and power and combine them with the new additions, namely those of the SECC and the Spanish. We know from ethnohistoric accounts that the Calusa and other native polities of the peninsula were interested in aligning themselves with the Spanish, valuable allies against neighboring friends and enemies (Solís de Merás 1923:146-152, 221-228). It is also clear from the discussion in Chapter 7 that elements of SECC imagery, especially those of power and military leadership, were being incorporated into the arts of native Florida. By combining the already conventionalized spoonbill imagery derived from the earlier Hopewellian era with the esoteric motifs of the SECC (i.e., cross-in-circle) the newly emerging elites found a symbol that combined the power of the old ways with the military strength embodied in the new.

Metal Crested-Woodpeckers

Crested woodpecker ornaments, cut and hammered from introduced sheet metal, are known from many of the same sites that produced ceremonial tablets. Far fewer examples of crested woodpeckers are known than tablets, numbering only nine. Seven of the nine woodpeckers are illustrated in Figures 8-11. These are all long, thin, tapering objects with the design of a crested bird depicted in profile at the wider end. All specimens are incised with details of the bird's head, including lines that extend down a portion of the artifact shaft. These lines may be akin to the body or life lines noted on animal representations produced in earlier phases of the Glades tradition. The greatest incised detail is concentrated on the eye, which is often embossed and/or fitted with circular copper or gold covers. Allerton et al. (1984:18) compare the eye motifs found on the crested woodpeckers with similar motifs found on ceremonial tablets and artifacts recovered from Key Marco. An earlier comparison of this type was also made by Goggin (n.d.:654). Four of the nine known woodpeckers were collected by W. Montague Tallant, who often combined portions of artifacts; some of the gold eye covers may have, in fact, been added by Tallant (Branstetter 1991).

Rau (1878) discusses a crested bird ornament of gold recovered from a mound in Manatee County, sometime before 1877. Goggin (n.d.:580) notes that at the time Manatee

County encompassed portions of Charlotte, Highlands, De Soto and Glades counties, making even a regional provenance difficult. Rau (1878) compares the bird depicted with the ivory-billed woodpecker (*Campephilus principalis*), once a common crested bird of southern Florida, now near extinction. Goggin (n.d.:579-580) suggested other possibilities, including the kingfisher. Considering the elaborate eye-markings, I would suggest *Dryocopus pileatus*, the pileated woodpecker.

Most specimens are of silver, though one is of gold and two are of copper. One degraded specimen from Ortona (8GL35) is of copper, and has not been assayed to determine the source of the copper. Goggin (1947a) does not report any tests conducted on the copper specimen from Fort St. Marks Wildlife Refuge (8WA15). Like all other crested woodpeckers, both copper specimens were associated with European-derived goods. Decorative technique and design is rather standardized, and some similarities to the design elements found on metal tablets exist. One rather unique woodpecker is known from the contact era burial at Mound Key (see Figure 8-13). This piece has the elaborate eye and crest, but the body lines and other incised areas are ornamented with light hatch marks. The variation noted here suggests some stylistic differences that may correspond to the metal tablet styles described above.

W. Montague Tallant (1935, n.d.) referred to these specimens as "sweat scrapers," perhaps implying an analogous function to the objects made and used by some contemporary southeastern Indians in ritual scratching (Capron 1953; Howard 1968; Swanton 1946:546). Scratchers or scrapers of ethnographically known Southeastern Indians do not conform to the crested woodpecker ornaments. "Sweat scrapers" also may be a reference to an implement, called a *strigilis*, used in Roman baths (Cowell 1980:146-147). Tallant also recovered several less ornamented objects that he called "sweat scrapers" (n.d.). Four of these objects are in Tallant's catalog, and are not surmounted by the crested woodpecker, but are plain or have some embossing. Two also are known from Fort Center. Goggin (n.d.:579) notes that Tallant recovered one crested woodpecker in direct association with the skull of a human burial and a silver band. Goggin (n.d.:579) notes the similarity of this band with the silver turban bands of the Seminole. The context described by Tallant may indicate the woodpecker ornaments served as hair or headdress decorations. For the most part, detailed context of the crested woodpeckers is lacking. They all were recovered with human burials, primarily from mound sites around the western margin of Lake Okeechobee (Goggin 1947a, n.d.:579-582; Branstetter 1991). One specimen was recovered from a cemetery in the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge, Wakulla County, some distance from southern

Florida (Goggin 1947a). This example was recovered by an amateur collector, who also found other metal ornaments like those from southern Florida sites. Tallant also recovered material from St. Marks, and there is some question to his role in the digging of the site and the redistribution of the grave goods. Goggin (1947a, n.d.:586) erroneously attributed several artifacts, including a metal tablet, to St. Marks (Allerton et al. 1984). It is, of course, possible that the crested woodpecker did come from St. Marks, and there is evidence that the Glades tradition was manifested along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, at considerable distance from southern Florida.

As noted above, all examples have been recovered in association with European materials, either traded to the Indians or taken by them from shipwrecks. This dates the crested woodpeckers to the Glades IIIc period. Interestingly, there are indications that the crested woodpeckers, as with some of the metal tablets, date to the 18th century. Rau (1878:299) presents the results of an assay performed on the gold specimen, noting the composition corresponds with the Spanish "ounce" of gold dating to 1772. The unusual example from Mound Key was associated with a Spanish sword hilt also dating to the late 18th century (Goggin n.d.:627-628; Allerton et al. 1984:28). Assay of the copper specimen from Ortona (8GL35) would help determine

if this piece was made of pre-Columbian metal, or of a copper alloy like brass.

Goggin (n.d.:579-582) provided a brief list of these crested woodpecker ornaments (with some errors), and an updated and more detailed catalog follows. Branstetter (1991:77-82) also follows Goggin's numbering of the woodpeckers, which is roughly maintained here.

1. Rau (1878) reports a gold crested-woodpecker recovered from a site in Manatee County (Figure 8-11e), (also see Covarrubias 1954:271). This piece was sent for identification to the NMNH-SI by Damon Greenleaf of Jacksonville, who obtained it from the excavator. Rau describes it as "cut from a flat piece of gold plate, not quite a millimeter in thickness, and somewhat thinner at the edge" (1878:298-299). Apparently the object was broken near the proximal end by the excavator. The eye is embossed, but does not have an associated eye cover, and apparently was not perforated. Rau (1878:300) made some observations on the manufacture of the ornament, noting that it was hammered from sheet or coin metal, decorated on both surfaces, and engraved with a dulled knife. The engraving implement produced a "double line," similar to engraved lines on other metal specimens of this era that I have examined. A brass replica of the gold original is in the NMNH-SI (#31575).

2. Tallant (n.d.; Branstetter 1991:78-79) recovered a silver crested-woodpecker, with copper eye cover, from

Gopher Gully (8GL28) (SFM# 4512). Goggin (n.d.:580) notes the poor condition of this specimen, which is weathered and has eroded edges (see Figures 8-11a and 8-12 center). Branstetter (1991:79) suggests only one side is incised, though earlier photographs show decoration on both surfaces.

3. Another Tallant specimen of silver, with gold eye cover, is from Nicodemus (8GL9) (SFM# 8552) (Tallant n.d.; Branstetter 1991:78). Both sides are engraved, and the maximum length is 21.1 cm. The lower end of the piece is not pointed but squared off (see Figures 8-11d and 8-12 left). It is unclear if the object was broken and reworked, or simply made this way.

4. Goggin (n.d.:580) assigned a copper specimen to Nicodemus, the site from which #3 above was recovered. Branstetter (1991:78) says no copper specimen is at SFM. There is, however, an extremely fragmentary copper crested-bird ornament in the SFM collection (SFM# A1943), attributed in the Tallant catalog to Ortona. Both Tallant and Goggin (n.d.:329-331; 1951) recovered contact era artifacts from the burial mound at this large mound-midden-earthwork complex. Branstetter (1995) has documented the artifacts recovered by Tallant from the Ortona burial mound, and has included the fragmentary woodpecker at my suggestion. David Dye photographed this specimen in 1988 during a de Soto archaeology conference held at SFM (Figure 8-11g is a drawing of this specimen). The fragmentary condition of the

specimen, and Goggin's error in following Tallant's catalog probably explain the obscurity of this piece.

5. The final specimen recovered by Tallant is of silver, with gold eye covering from Bee Branch 1 (8HN17) (SFM# 6184) (Tallant n.d., 1935; Branstetter 1991:77-78). Branstetter (1991:78) says engraving only occurs on one surface, though photographs in the Goggin Collection of the FLMNH show a similar engraved design on obverse and reverse. This specimen has been broken and mended (see Figure 8-11f and 8-12 right). Tallant published an account of his work at this site, and described the crested bird as the figure of "the head of a horse with roached mane and bridle carved on the end and a pure gold eye stuck on with pine gum" (1935:97). Tallant's silver crested-woodpeckers have been illustrated by Milanich and Milbrath (1989), and the specimen from Bee Branch 1 was most recently illustrated by Milanich (1995).

6. Goggin (n.d.:580-581) and Tallant (1935) note that another crested bird ornament of silver was recovered at Bee Branch 1, thirty years prior to Tallant's excavation.

7. A silver specimen (UM# 8189), with perforate and embossed eye was recovered from a contact era burial at Mound Key (see Figures 8-11b and 8-13). Goggin originally attributed this specimen, and all associated artifacts, to Punta Rassa (8LL7). Luer (1985b) has since pointed out Goggin's error, and explained that the collection was dug

from Mound Key by Frank Johnson and his sons, sold to Joseph Willcox, who in turn presented the material to the UM. Schell (1992) also presents some information on the Willcox Collection and its recovery by the Johnsons, noting that all the artifacts were found in a superficial burial of one or two individuals. Accounts disagree about the exact provenance of the burial and contact era cache, with Johnson indicating the shell mound (8LL2) and Damkohler, Schell's informant, indicating the burial mound (8LL3). Apparently, a shield and other Spanish arms accompanied the interment, and some of the artifacts described by Schell's informant match those in the UM collection. The collection was included with other materials exhibited in Spain on the Columbian Quadricentennial (Culin 1895). Some objects were traded to the Heye Foundation in New York. The first published illustration of this artifact is found in Coe (1977:64), though the caption more likely describes a ceremonial metal tablet. Milanich (1995:46) illustrates the crested woodpecker, two crucifixes and several repoussé disks recovered from Mound Key. I examined this collection, which contains an extensive array of glass, cut crystal, rolled metal, and coin beads, as well as a number of native objects, including a fine *Busycon* dipper, shell gorgets, bone beads and ornaments, and a Point Washington Incised adorno (the coin beads described in Fairbanks 1968:102 are from the Mound Key collection).

Stylistically, the Mound Key woodpecker ornament is a variation of the typical form. Morphologically, the outline is blocky, angular--unlike the tapering, rounded lines of the other crested woodpecker ornaments. Details of the engraved design also vary. Nested chevrons replace concentric arcs at the juncture of the head and bill. The eye design also is slightly different, with a wedge-shaped extension below the pupil. This variant eye motif is found on animals and birds in both Hopewellian and SECC art. The most distinctive difference is the alternating light dash incising that serves as fill for the lines of the eye, crest, and body.

8. Goggin (1947a:273-274) reports a copper crested-bird ornament from 8WA15, a cemetery in the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge (see Figure 8-11c). This object is like the others described from southern Florida, and came from a cemetery along with other metal objects and glass beads. Tallant also recovered contact era artifacts from this site, including a Columbian cast gold figurine (Branstetter 1991).

9. Another crested woodpecker ornament was recently found in the area to the west of Lake Okeechobee (Luer, personal communication, 1995). I have not seen this specimen, but it conforms to the typical shape and design described above.

The metal crested-woodpeckers have enigmatic origins and relationships. The presence of earlier forms of the

crested woodpeckers at Fort Center and Key Marco indicate this may be a local addition to the symbol system introduced during the Hopewell horizon discussed in Chapter 2. These locally developed forms may have predecessors in Hopewellian effigies. As noted in Chapter 5, the woodpecker of the SECC and ethnographically known southeastern tribes appears to have strong connotations of warfare and military might. The stylized crest and elaborate eyes of the metal crested-woodpeckers allies them with woodpecker representations of the SECC (Moore 1905a:238-240, Figs. 167-171; Howard 1968:46; Waring and Holder 1945:5; Phillips and Brown 1978:135, 145). The Spiro, Oklahoma, material contains a considerable number of woodpecker and composite woodpecker beings, including a rather interesting set of copper axes hafted in wooden handles. These handles depict the crested woodpecker, with open mouth and extended tongue--the blade of the axe passes through the open mouth (Hamilton 1952:45, Pls. 54-55). These weapons also appear in some of the shell engravings from Spiro (Phillips and Brown 1984:Pl. 204). Considering the widespread association of the woodpecker with warfare it is likely that the metal replicas are emblems of war chiefs or shaman directly associated with military operations, possibly even a miniature form of some weapon. There would, however, appear to be a more complex meaning behind the woodpeckers, since they come from burials (i.e., Mound Key), or at least mounds that contain the metal tablets described

above. This would suggest that juxtaposition of the spoonbill and woodpecker imagery exists beyond the stylistic affinities of the two artifact types. Interestingly, the stylistic juxtaposition of realistic and abstract forms has already been described as a Hopewellian pattern, indicating that the basic patterns of art and symbol may not have significantly shifted, despite additions of new themes and motifs. It should be remembered that these metal artifacts coexist alongside the bone (and probably wood) forms that were an early and integral component of Glades art.

The stylistic and contextual associations of the metal conventionalized spoonbill tablets and the metal crested-woodpeckers helps confirm the suspected meanings of the tablets as outlined above. The tablets represent a merging of new and old forms, with the resultant product a symbol of elite power and military might. The slightly more naturalistic woodpecker effigies help reinforce the military role of the new elites, as well as helping to maintain ties to the older symbol systems. Like the metal tablets, the woodpeckers also combine a traditional form with details that associate the emergent forms with the militant symbols of the SECC. The shipwreck metals provide the ultimate association with the other major military presence in Florida--the Spanish.

Despite the introduction and reinterpretation of new imagery, the basic pattern of contrasting realistic and

abstract forms is maintained (see Stafford 1979:20 on this juxtaposition of natural and abstract representation in Weeden Island art). This pattern was introduced during the Hopewellian horizon, and is exhibited in the motifs shared by the abstract tablet forms and somewhat more realistic crested woodpecker ornaments--both of which have their basis in avian imagery. This contrast is further extended in the new media of Spanish-derived metals; very traditional forms (i.e., the ceremonial tablets) are now wrought of this alien metal. This material manifestation of traditionalism and borrowing is probably related to more spiritual adherence to tradition as documented by the Spanish friars of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries (Hann 1991:43-44, 174-175, 223, 225-226). Marquardt (1988; 1991:xvi-xvii) raises the possibility that the social, political, and religious formations of contact era southern Florida are the product of interaction with the new European element. While the disruptions to native society are obvious considering the eventual extinction of these people, the material evidence suggests a pattern of reinterpretation, through the process of reinterpretation, one which occurred at several other major points in the history of the Glades tradition.

Other Metal Zoomorphic Cut-Outs

Several other clearly zoomorphic metal ornaments are known (see Figure 8-14). All are cut from sheet silver, and

are decorated with repoussé or incised lines. These ornaments are discussed below.

Avian forms. Two small pendants of cut and embossed silver depict crested birds. One example from the Tallant collection may be from Bull Creek (80S52) (SFM# 8743), the other is from Belle Glade (8PB40) (Johnson 1976:Fig. 4; Allerton et al. 1984:28-29). Unlike the crested woodpeckers described above, these vary not only in mode of depiction, but also in function, perhaps serving as elements of a necklace or clothing decoration like the little bone and antler animal carvings discussed in Chapter 4. Despite coming from different sites, these two pieces are remarkably similar, each with a pointed, hooked bill; a repoussé crest extending over most of the head; and a repoussé eye (see Figure 8-14a-b). Small holes for fastening are found on each specimen.

Porpoise. The Tallant collection includes a small silver cut-out pendant depicting a porpoise, small whale or similar cetacean (SFM# A5650) recovered from Thomas (8HG7). Comparison with the Key Marco engravings (see Figures 4-11 and 4-12) indicates the Thomas effigy is likely a porpoise, since it lacks the long beak-like snout. The artifact has a slight bow and does not lay flat. Incised details include features of the tail and face, as well as a lateral body line with finely incised cross-hatching (Figure 8-14d). Recall that aquatic animals, including fish and cetaceans,

discussed in Chapter 4, also had lateral lines, occasionally ornamented with tick marks.

Fish. A small perforated ornament of sheet silver cut and incised to resemble a fish was recovered from Goodnow (8HG6) (Griffin and Smith 1948). Figure 8-14c illustrates this artifact, which was in association with ceremonial tablets, glass beads and other artifacts originating with the Spanish. Details on this piece are incised on one side only, and include portions of the fins and eye.

Shark-tooth effigy pendants. As with the effigies in bone and antler discussed in Chapter 4, shipwreck metals were reworked to resemble parts of animals, namely shark teeth. Shark-tooth effigies are known from Nicodemus (8GL9), Fort Center (8GL13), Belle Glade (8PB40), 8CH1 and several other sites (Branstetter 1991:62; Sears 1982:65; Allerton et al. 1984:28, 36). The examples from Fort Center are reworked from cast silver (see Figure 8-14e-f), while other examples are cut and hammered from sheet or coin silver (Figure 8-14g). Serrations are present on some examples, and a great deal of realism is evident in all specimens examined. Jones (1994:130), in analyzing the Lake Jackson artifacts, reports that perforated shark teeth served as clothing decoration. There is also evidence that copper-covered wood carvings of shark teeth were used as clothing decoration at Spiro (Hamilton 1952:40, Pl. 24). It seems likely that the use of silver shark tooth imitations

in southern Florida is an outgrowth of both local and Mississippian traditions.

Embossed Kite-Shaped Pendants

Kite-shaped pendants, of cut and embossed sheet silver, are a distinctive class of artifacts associated with burials of the terminal Glades tradition (Figure 8-15). Five examples were cataloged for this study (Moore 1900:363; Griffin and Smith 1948:16, Pl. IIb; Rouse 1951:Pl. 7o; Goggin photo collection, FLMNH; Bullen 1952:69, Fig. 22). Like many of the artifacts documented as elements of the terminal Glades tradition, these are not only known from southern Florida, but have also been found in the St. Johns River area. All specimens are perforated for suspension. Two of the kite-shaped pendants have veined, leaf-like repoussé patterns, with embossed "beading" around the edge (cf. specimens from Gleason (8BR11) and 8PO2 in Figure 8-14a and 8-15f). A kite-shaped pendant from 8LL40 has a repoussé cross and edge (see Figure 8-15b) (Moore 1900:363). Perhaps the most instructive example is from Picnic (8HI3), recovered during WPA excavations (Bullen 1952:69; Allerton et al. 1984:18), and illustrated here in Figure 8-15d. Like several of the other kite-shaped pendants, the edge has embossed beading. The primary repoussé design appears to be a highly stylized animal face, with a medial line and elaborate eyes (cf. MT# 40 and other southern Florida eye motifs). Three perforations, rather than one, are at the

top of the pendant. It should be noted that other metal pendants have similar leaf-like designs and beaded edges.

The exact stylistic position of the kite-shaped pendants is unclear, though there appear to be links with the metal tablets described above. Most of the examples considered here come from the periphery of southern Florida. In some sense the kite-shaped pendants may be an extreme variant of the more common metal tablets, or simply another artifact type that shares some of the design elements found on the metal tablets and woodpecker ornaments. In this light there appears to be a complex of metal ornaments, each with varying morphology, but shared design elements.

Terminal Glades Tradition

The creativity in the new medium of metal that characterizes the terminal phase deserves special attention. The diversity and standardization of forms and designs suggests a complex of well-developed art styles that span a short two hundred and fifty year period. Designs are derived from Mississippian constellations, as well as more ancient forms. The focus above is on abstract or stylized zoomorphic imagery, specifically the crested woodpecker hair or headdress ornaments, and the ceremonial tablets, as well as a few notable and related artifact types (i.e., kite-shaped pendants). These are a small sample of the terminal phase metal objects, which include repoussé, engraved, and cast items all made by native hands, as well as objects of

Spanish derivation directly incorporated into the system of material culture. Within the context of Glades tradition origins, the ceremonial tablets appear to represent the endpoint in a continuum of duck, spoonbill or more general avian images. The bird and duckbill form reappears throughout the Glades tradition sequence, beginning with Hopewellian plummets, and emerging as Weeden Island adornos and small ornamental bone carvings. The contextual environment established by Allerton et al. (1984) and continued here should establish this relationship.

The pattern of borrowing and reinterpreting extralocal form and design, as in the incipient and early phases, continues in the terminal phase. The artists of the late Glades tradition thrived on external elements, ranging from Mississippian imagery to Spanish shipwreck metals. This feature of Glades tradition art provides much of the continuity evidenced in such a diverse array of media, form, and symbolism.

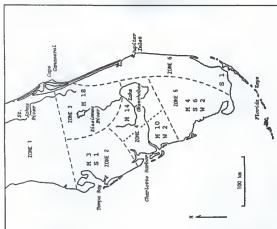


Figure 8-2. Ceremonial tablet distribution (from Luer 1994: 184, used by permission of the author).

Figure 8-1. Terminal Glades Tradition sites.

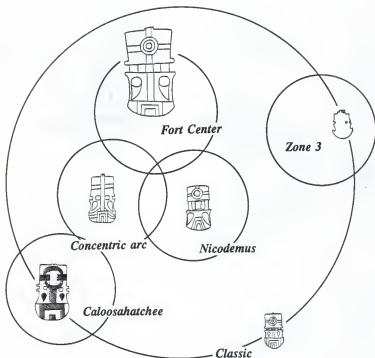


Figure 8-3. Tablet style analysis. The placement of circles represents similarity between tablet styles. All tablets are related to the Classic style and to one another through morphology and some shared design elements. Closely related styles overlap, while marginally related forms only touch. Zone 3 style tablets are most unlike other styles, resulting in the placement of its respective circle at the fringe of the model.

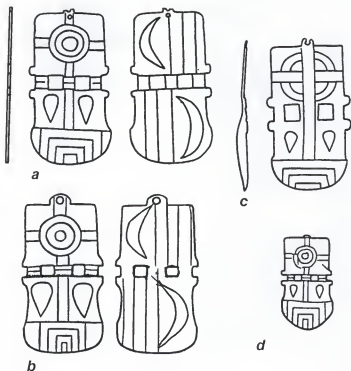


Figure 8-4. Classic style tablets. a, MT# 42, 8CR41; b, MT# 1, 8HG3B; c, MT# 45, 8CR226; d, MT# 20, Goodnow (8HG6) (from Allerton et al. 1984:28, 34-35, 40-41, 42-43, reproduced with permission of G. Luer).

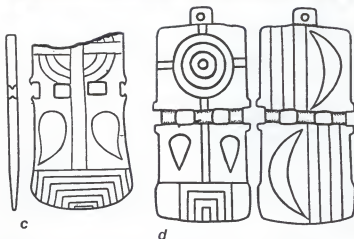


Figure 8-5. Fort Center style tablets. a-b, Fort Center (8GL13), FLMNH 82-17-73, 82-17-74 c, MT# 19, Partin (80S11); d, MT# 27, Fort Center (from Allerton et al. 1984:32-33, 36-37, reproduced with permission of G. Luer). Photograph reproduced with permission, Florida Museum of Natural History.

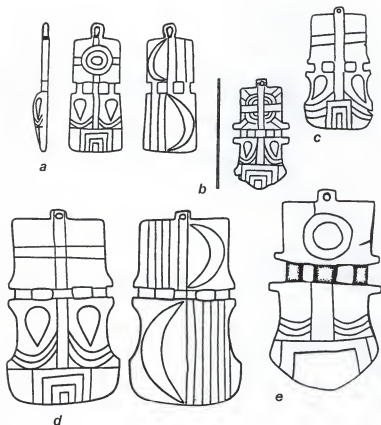


Figure 8-6. Zone 4 or Concentric Arc style tablets. a, MT# 41, Ortona (8GL35); b, MT# 46, 8CR226; c, MT# 29, 8GL13(?); d, MT# 28, Fort Center (8GL13); e, MT# 11, Nicodemus (8GL9) (from Allerton et al. 1984:30, 36-37, 40-41, 42-43, reproduced with permission of G. Luer).

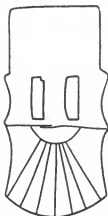
*a**b*

Figure 8-7. Nicodemus style tablets. a, SFM 8542; b, SFM 8543; both are from Nicodemus (8GL9). Photograph reproduced with permission, South Florida Museum and Bishop Planetarium, Bradenton. Reverse sides from Allerton et al. 1984:30-31, 32-33, reproduced with permission of G. Luer.

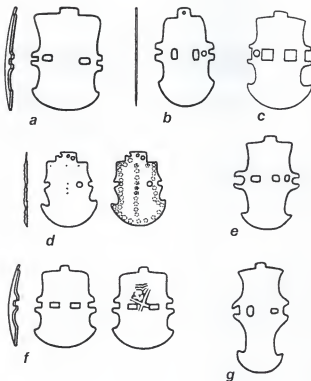


Figure 8-8. Zone 3 style tablets. a, MT# 48, 8OS50; b, MT# 47, 8OS50; c, MT# 51, Goodnow (8HG6); d, MT# 32, 8GL72 or 8PO446; e, MT# 7, Gleason (8BR99); f, MT# 43, Spivey (8GL72); g, MT# 6, Gleason (8BR99) (from Allerton et al. 1984:29, 38-39, 42-43 and Luer 1994:180, reproduced with permission of G. Luer).

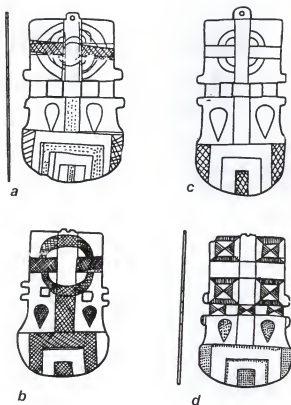


Figure 8-9. Caloosahatchee style tablets. a, MT# 15, Thomas (8HG7); b, MT# 4, Mound Key; c, MT# 3, Mound Key; d, MT# 39, 8LL8 (from Allerton et al. 1984:32-33, 28, 40-41, reproduced with permission of G. Luer).

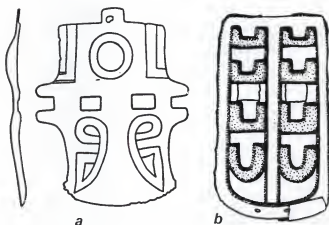


Figure 8-10. Miscellaneous tablets. a, MT# 40, copper alloy tablet with zoomorphic design, 80S4; b, MT# 16, block-T repoussé design, 8GL73 (from Allerton et al. 1984:40-41, 32-33, reproduced with permission of G. Luer).

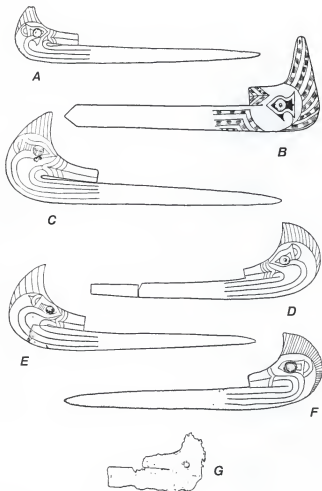


Figure 8-11. Crested woodpeckers. a, Gopher Gully (8GL28), SFM 4512; b, Mound Key, UM 8189; c, St. Marks Refuge Cemetery (8WA15) (after Goggin 1947a:274); d, Nicodemus (8GL9), SFM 8552; e, Manatee County (from Rau 1878:299); f, Bee Branch 1 (8HN17), SFM 6184; g, Ortona (8GL35), SFM A1943. a-b, d, f, silver; c, g, copper or copper alloy; e, gold. All to scale: a, 23.1 cm; b, 23.8 cm; c, 26.0 cm; d, 21.1 cm; e, 22.9 cm; f, 24.3 cm; g, 8.2 cm.



Figure 8-12. Crested woodpeckers. Top to bottom, Nicodemus (8GL9), SFM 8552; Gopher Gully (8GL28), SFM 4512; Bee Branch 1 (8HN17), SFM 6184. Reproduced with permission, South Florida Museum and Bishop Planetarium, Bradenton.



Figure 8-13. Crested woodpecker, Mound Key, UM 8189. Reproduced with permission, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

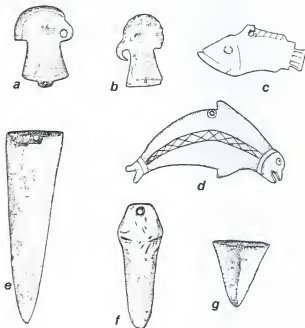


Figure 8-14. Zoöomorphic metal cut-outs. a, crested bird effigy, Belle Glade (8PB40), HMSF; b, crested bird effigy, Rattlesnake Mound, SFM 8743; c, fish effigy, Goodnow (8HG6); d, porpoise effigy, Thomas (8HG7), SFM A5650; e, shark tooth effigy, Fort Center, FLMNH 82-17-80; f, shark tooth effigy, Fort Center, FLMNH 82-17-81; g, shark tooth effigy, Nicodemus (8GL9), SFM A7039. All to scale: c, 3.6 cm; d, 6.7 cm; e, 6.7 cm; f, 4.3 cm; g, 2.6 cm.

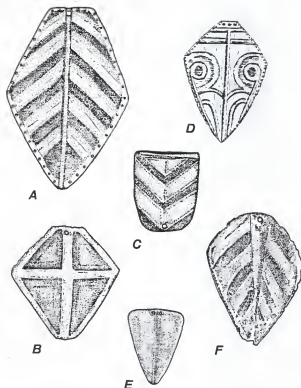


Figure 8-15. Kite-shaped and related pendants. a, Bear Lake (8BR11), Mixson Collection, FLMNH 76495; b, Pine Island 8 (8LL40) (after Moore 1900:363); c, Bear Lake (8BR11), FLMNH 76497; d, zoomorphic repoussé, Picnic (8HI3), drawing from the Goggin Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; e, Bear Lake (8BR11), FLMNH; f, 8PO2, redrawn from photos in the Goggin Collection, FLMNH. All to scale: a, 8.1 cm; b, 5.1 cm; d, 5.7 cm.

CHAPTER 9 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study has covered the visual arts of a broad geographic and temporal range. Each chapter presented information on significant styles or case studies. This final chapter explores some of the basic patterns and structures of the art and symbol systems introduced above. Some questions are raised for further consideration, and the questions posed in Chapter 1 are evaluated.

Periodicity in Peninsular Art

As Kubler (1970, 1987) notes, periodicity is the most difficult aspect of stylistic systems to define. Periods should reflect cycles of innovation, production, and return. Many of the stylistic divisions examined in this study have aspects that extend well into the future, and are clearly related to what was in the past.

Pre-Glades Traditions

Prior to involvement with Hopewellian exchange systems and symbol systems, much of the Florida peninsula was characterized by two distinct decorative traditions. The earliest tradition is composed of bone and antler artifacts with carved and incised geometric designs, possibly related to rattlesnake or serpent imagery (Wheeler 1992c, 1994). The second tradition includes a broader repertoire of

incised designs on bone and ceramics (Jahn and Bullen 1978; Wheeler 1994). This carving and ornamentation of bone, and probably wood, forms the cornerstone of what follows in subsequent phases.

Incipient Glades Tradition

The incipient tradition consists of those arts directly imported to Florida from Hopewellian centers, or modeled after these extralocal objects. This is an important addition of forms and designs to the Florida corpus. The Hopewellian Yent and Green Point complexes provide a stimulus for two major artistic trajectories, Weeden Island and the Glades tradition. The zoomorphic designs incised on Yent and Crystal River pottery develop into the well-integrated animal effigy vessels of Weeden Island. On the other hand, the small bird and duckbill effigy pendants most influence the later arts of the Glades tradition. The avian form develops into a number of styles, but remains a constant well into the contact era.

Early Glades Tradition

The early phase styles represent arts that emerge from the synthesis of pre-Glades tradition and Hopewellian forms and designs. As noted above, the realistic animal sculptures of exotic stone most influenced early phase artists. Small bone carvings found throughout eastern and southern Florida, as well as the large wood mortuary carvings of Fort Center represent two styles of the early

Glades tradition. The small bone carvings remain most true to the original Hopewellian intent of diminutive, realistic personal images. Hopewellian pipes are surmounted by bird or animal forms that face the smoker, suggesting a special relationship between animal and human. Some of this relationship is expressed in the small size of Florida bone carvings, as well as similar choices of animals. The Fort Center carvings also maintain the realism and mortuary function of the Hopewellian sculptures, but shift toward a larger scale. This phenomenon suggests some form of corporate ritual in which the effigies functioned. Parallels to the Fort Center carvings also are found in the mortuary contexts of Weeden Island pedestaled ceramic effigies.

"Developed" Glades Tradition

The term "developed" is used to refer to Glades tradition manifestations at Key Marco, as well as some related material from Belle Glade and Tick Island. In many ways the carvings of the developed Glades tradition are like those of the early tradition. Attention to detail, fine carving and painting create the same realistic forms found in the early tradition arts. Key Marco gives a special glimpse into the types of ritual paraphernalia associated with non-mortuary, non-secular aspects of the tradition. Clearly all aspects of the ceremonial and decorative arts of southern Florida were inspired by animal forms. What

distinguishes Key Marco and Belle Glade are the inclusions of themes and motifs that prefigure later developments in the SECC at the former site. There also appear to be composite creatures and anthropomorphic animal images at Key Marco, which parallel SECC arts, and suggest naturalistic forms were taking on added significance.

Late Glades Tradition

The late phase represents another era of external influences. As before, Glades tradition artists thrive on the addition of new forms and designs, and readily incorporate and reinterpret SECC and Mississippian elements. This produces several distinctive styles, including Safety Harbor ceramics, which appear to be a by-product of Weeden Island design and Mississippian form. Three decorative bone and antler art styles have been documented, each with varying relationships to local and extralocal Mississippian art. The continued use of bone and antler carving attests to the importance of these media, and earlier work has indicated some symbolic significance, especially for antler (Wheeler 1992c). Some Archaic era forms representing serpents appear to survive well into the late phase, confirming the survivability and resilience of pre-tradition forms. Human imagery, which had only nominal use in previous phases, increases dramatically in the late Glades tradition. Bone carvings of humans as well as wooden idols are almost exclusive to the late phase. Influences are

primarily from the wood and stone statuary of Mississippian artists, rather than earlier Weeden Island or Hopewellian human effigies. Earlier wood carvings of humans are related to Hopewellian and Weeden Island forms. It has been suggested that increasing anthropomorphic forms in Mississippian art reflect shifts in sociopolitical organization and the importance of hierarchical leaders (Brose et al. 1985). This increased focus on human imagery in the late Glades tradition may parallel Mississippian shifts in art and politics.

Terminal Glades Tradition

The terminal phase represents a continued production of Mississippian inspired art, with the notable transfer of much of this art into contact era metals. Over a period of two hundred fifty years a variety of new and old forms and designs were interpreted in metals recovered from European shipwrecks. Techniques and tools used include those of the past, though Leader (1985) reports casting of some small objects. Notable examples include the ceremonial tablets and crested woodpecker ornaments, though a host of other objects were also produced. The variety of forms and techniques produced in the terminal phase attests to the survival of traditional arts well into the 18th century. This material is primarily personal and mortuary in character, and adheres to many of the patterns seen in earlier phases.

Survivals in Later Tribal Arts

The notion that some surviving native Floridians were assimilated into Creek and other groups migrating into the peninsula in the mid-18th century has received limited attention (Sturtevant 1962; Neill 1955). Archaeological evidence is equally scarce, though some ethnographers have reported Seminole references to "the Calusa," suggesting some contact may have occurred (Densmore 1956). The similarity of some of the repoussé and engraved metal disks, as well as the headdress or turban band from the Tallant Collection at SFM indicates some limited continuity (Branstetter 1991:86-87; Goggin n.d.:579; see Downs 1995:183 for a Seminole silver turban band from the 19th century). No claims for relationships or contact will be made here, but further comparison of forms and production techniques might be fruitful.

Structural Position

Art and Craft

The development of skill and artifice in the production of decorative and ceremonial objects is considered by Kubler (1987) the cornerstone of analyses of style. Craftsmanship reflects knowledge of materials and development of the repetitive motor skills required to produced objects of desired shape and design. Several of the wooden tool handles discussed in Chapter 5 are themselves ornamented, and considering their context, may have been reserved for

the production of ceremonial objects. Mastery of craft also allows better integration of form and meaning. This process can be observed in the development of decorative bone industries in the Archaic era, where form is eventually manipulated to complement the engraved designs (Wheeler 1994). A similar trajectory is observed in the evolution from Hopewellian into Weeden Island ceramics. Yent and Green Point artists experimented with a great variety of unusual shapes, often with little relationship to the design incised on the vessels. Weeden Island artists refined the relationship between form and surface decoration, often manipulating vessel shape to accentuate or accommodate the overall intended representation. In this sense form was regulated and integrated, and was no longer an uncontrolled variable. The use of cut-out areas to mark mortuary effigies or indicate the anomalous nature of the animals represented may also be an aspect of the intentioned manipulation of form in Weeden Island art.

The high technical quality of Florida arts suggests considerable sophistication in production of decorative and ceremonial objects, and it is possible that the artists responsible for some of the pieces discussed here were specialists. Mortuary contexts, especially in Weeden Island mounds and in the Fort Center mound-pond complex, suggest there were ritual specialists, who may also have been responsible for the production of objects considered here as

art. The detailed knowledge of their subject, as well as the quality of the product argue against the notion of fearful primitives producing objects of propitiation and death as suggested by some authors discussed by Price (1989).

Function and Use

As noted above, form gives some clues about the function of decorative objects. Again, the cut-outs and pedestaled bases found on some Weeden Island effigies point to the fact that they were not normal containers. Contexts and related structures documented at McKeithen suggest the pedestaled effigies were mounted on posts and served as guardians or markers around the mortuary/ceremonial areas (Milanich et al. 1984). I would suggest at least two major functional categories that can be extrapolated from form, and confirmed or supported by context and ethnohistoric observations, namely personal adornment and ritual paraphernalia. It should be noted that considerable overlap probably occurred between these categories and their component parts.

Personal adornment

Items of personal adornment are characterized by small size--a format that allows them to be worn as hair pins, clothing bodkins, beads, pendants, or gorgets. Small tools with decorative attributes could also be included here. For example, the bone implement from Pineland that was

surmounted by carvings of shark vertebrae showed evidence of having been used as an awl. The bone rectangle with wheeling dolphins from Key Marco (8CR49) may have been used in net weaving, as the highly polished and finely scratched surface suggest some use with fibers. In the case of personal art there is a relationship between the decorative carving and its user that may not extend to others. I have already noted that many of the small bone carvings are designed to "wrap around" the bone objects upon which they are executed, suggesting one would have to be near the piece in order to see and appreciate it (Wheeler 1992c). Often these small ornaments were lost and broken, indicating their daily use and explaining their recovery from habitation or midden sites. Burial contexts are also known, again confirming the personal quality of the objects.

Ritual specialists and artistic production

The next major category of decorative artifacts reflect ritual or ceremonial behavior. Sears (1961:229) suggests a relationship between religious practitioners, craft specialization and the production of ceremonial art and architecture. Ritual specialists can take two forms--the magicoreligious practitioner or shaman, and the priest, a more formally institutionalized position (Turner 1989). The shaman and priest can co-exist within a given society, and their duties can overlap or interrelate. The ethnohistoric evidence suggests that the shaman was the primary religious

specialist in southern Florida and in all aspects of the Glades tradition. In fact, it would appear that a special form of religious specialist existed in southern Florida, one that combined qualities of shaman and priest. A similar position probably existed within the related Hopewellian and Weeden Island cultures as well. Much of the ceremonial paraphernalia and artistic objects can be shown to be shamanic in origin and function. This is suggested in the form and context of the artifacts, and confirmed by pertinent ethnohistoric documents. On the other hand, Mississippian societies are thought to have had religious configurations headed by priests or chiefs with sacred authority, at least in some areas (Hudson 1976:336-340; DePratter 1991:62; Swanton 1911; Knight 1981). Knight (1986) suggests that a priestly cult among southeastern tribes mediated between a communal cult of fertility and a chiefly cult designed to reinforce sociopolitical institutions. I offer an alternative configuration for the Glades tradition, which has a history of shamanic institutions well into the contact era. The *sacra*, or sacred paraphernalia, defined by Knight (1986) for the three Mississippian cult types have some major omissions in the late and terminal phases outlined above, where they should occur. Interestingly, it is the chiefly cult *sacra* that are lacking, though they are present to the north in the St. Johns and Fort Walton regions. This is not to suggest that

southern Florida polities are not organized on a chiefdom level (Widmer 1988), just that a more ancient pattern is in evidence. The assertion is that shamans regulated the elements of the communal cult, having responsibility for mortuary rites, purification rites, healing and medicinal rites, and ancestor rites. The relationship between shamans, animals, animal spirits and the spirits of the ancestors exists at an integrative level, with one primary cult focus, and not three.

Steadman and Palmer (1994) suggest that the role of the shaman in mediating and communicating with dead ancestors, whatever their form, has been largely overlooked by anthropologists. Much of the ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence for the shaman in Florida points to this role as a mediator between the living and the dead. Interestingly a similar role may be found in the shamanistic production and use of artistic and ceremonial objects. In a sense, the shaman as artist becomes the mediator between symbolic and formal qualities of art, with principles of aesthetics related to more deeply imbedded cosmological ideas. This relationship would account for the extreme resilience of iconographic aspects of Glades tradition art, with modifications to form occurring at junctures of contact with other stylistic and symbolic systems.

Patterns of Form

Cushing (1897) presents some elements of the "primitive aesthetic" that characterize the artifacts of Key Marco. Cushing's assertions regarding the aesthetic principles underlying the creation of art are extremely precocious, and are clearly components of the larger aesthetic system modeled here. Cushing's principles incorporate three major premises, including "ideal types," "symbolic specialization," and "art of investiture" (1897:398-399, 414-415). The portrayal of "ideal types" when creating images of animals can result in a certain conventionalized manner of depiction, or certain standardized elements or poses. Schwehm (1983:103) was seeing the latter manifestation when commenting that the Hopewell animal sculptures appear posed or static. These patterned poses are also used in Weeden Island and Glades tradition art. Cushing indicates that portrayal of ideal types reflects a desire to represent "the perfect ancestral types or spiritual archetypes" (1897:399).

Schwehm (1983:77) notes that the eye of some of the Key Marco carvings is enlarged or otherwise ornamented with stylized figures conveying an anthropomorphic quality. This may be associated with the general principle of ideal types. Stylized or enlarged eyes are characteristic of many of the effigy plummets discussed in Chapter 2, and has corollaries in other Hopewell arts, as well as some of the small bone

carvings discussed in Chapter 4. I would add that the portrayal of only the head of animals is a variant of this principle. Schwehm (1983:112) suggests this mode is related to Calusa concepts of the soul, as recorded by Rogel (Hann 1991:237-238). The Calusa believed that each person had three souls--one that dwelled in the eye, a second evidenced in a person's shadow, and a third visible in one's reflection. The soul of the pupil apparently remained with the body after death, resulting in elaboration of mortuary rituals. The primacy of the soul of the pupil is further evidenced in the carvings and related artifacts that have elaborate eye motifs.

Symbolic specialization may more appropriately be called metaphoric or analogic representation. This mode reflects the association between animal behavioral characteristics and the use of the objects on which they are depicted. Cushing (1897:390-391) gives some examples in the tool handles and figureheads of Key Marco. The problem here is that varying mythologies and animal actor stories regulate what perceived behaviors and mythic activities may be. One example of this principle of "form as metaphor" is the relationship of the Fort Center vulture carvings to the mortuary pond and its contents. Vultures are carrion feeders, and typical hover around dead animals with wings raised and heads down. A similar pose is evidenced in the

Fort Center vulture effigies, which perched around the bundled bodies of the deceased.

Cushing's "art of investiture" is an aesthetic principle closely tied to shamanistic beliefs. This is the belief that effigies, and perhaps other art objects, are invested with "animistic and specialistic powers" (Cushing 1897:414). The notion that these objects are alive or have a spiritual component is evidenced in their ceremonial breakage, which may be directly related to shamanistic beliefs about life and death, as well as their burial in mounds along with their human creators.

Perhaps one of the most ancient patterns recognizable in the Florida material is the juxtaposition of abstract and naturalistic images, often in the same artifact, or in different pieces that intend the same subject. Greber and Ruhl (1989) mention this pattern in Hopewellian art, and it is prevalent in Weeden Island. It is likely that this duality reflects some deeper structural patterns.

Process

The three major processes operating in the production of Florida art are traditionalism, reinterpretation, and creativity. Essentially, the first two act in concert to bring introduced elements into line with traditional patterns of form and iconography. Creativity, the third process, is more likely the product of the workings of tradition and reinterpretation.

Traditionalism

The major process operating throughout belief systems of southern Florida is one of traditionalism, the adherence to age-old patterns, whether they are artistic or more deeply rooted ideas of religion. This process is generally described by Haag (1955), and more specifically by Hann (1991) in his discussion of native resistance to Spanish missionization in southern Florida. Of the art and symbol system of the Florida peninsula, that of southern Florida appears most parochial. This is not to suggest that change, on some level, does not occur.

Reinterpretation

Reinterpretation is the process acting to balance new elements, so they may be incorporated into the traditional system described above. Elements that cannot be reinterpreted are eliminated. For example, the human imagery introduced during the Hopewellian horizon is adapted by Weeden Island artists, but largely rejected by those of the Glades tradition. It is not until the Mississippian horizon that human imagery can be properly reinterpreted by Glades artists. This reflects some shifts in sociopolitical organization, as well as developments within the subsystem of art production. While reinterpretation seems to be a process of normalization, it is actually the source of creativity and change.

Creativity

Despite the parochial nature of southern Florida art and culture, there is the possibility that some of the styles described in the above chapters provided the basis for themes, motifs, and forms of the better known art systems of the Southeast and Midwest. This may be the case regarding the Key Marco material, where some specific themes and motifs seem to prefigure the conventionalized designs of SECC and Mississippian art.

Iconography and Symbolism

Two major symbol systems exist within the corpus of peninsular art, namely zoöomorphic and anthropomorphic. A primary feature of these systems, especially the first, is the maintenance of ancient iconographic elements, though form varies through time. Before discussing these symbol systems, some attention should be focused on symbolism ascribed to artistic media.

Significance of Media

Primary artistic media of peninsular Florida include antler, bone, and wood. As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2 the neighboring Weeden Island tradition is best characterized by ceramic arts. The adherence to the media of the Archaic and pre-Glades traditions suggests some special significance, beyond availability. Special signification for deer antlers is most notable, as changes in the perceptions of this

medium (and motif) are evidenced in Florida and the Southeast. Figure 9-1 compares antler and deer imagery.

As noted in Chapter 1, antler carving dates back to the Archaic era, with several antler carvings exhibiting an abstracted serpent or rattlesnake theme. These objects appear to have been associated with shaman/leaders, though their position remains enigmatic. Among Hopewellian cultures antler headdresses, often of wood and copper, are used by ritual specialists. At this time there appears to be a specific individual, holding a position in broader social and political systems, who exists in a metaphoric relationship to the male deer and various key points in its life cycle. Antlers or horns also designate special individuals or creatures, usually the underwater panther or uktena, this may be an association dating back to Archaic times when antler was used to depict the rattlesnake. Antlers appear to undergo a significant change in Mississippian culture, becoming a more generalized symbol of office or authority. Antler motifs occur on a wide variety of human, animal, and mythic creatures in Mississippian shell engravings, and Howard (1968:59) cites evidence among contemporary Southeastern Indians of "horns of office," a general association between antlers and the elite. In southern Florida, however, this generalization is not evidenced, as the very specific association of rattlesnake

and antler persists in the Margate-Blount carving discussed in Chapter 7.

In contrast to the traditional media of bone and antler, is the late and exotic metal obtained from Spanish shipwrecks. As noted in Chapter 8 the association of this material with the Spanish may explain the quick incorporation and reworking of metal by the Natives. Escalante Fontaneda (in True 1944:18-20) suggests that much of the recovered treasure came under the purview of the Calusa paramount and his vassal chiefs. This suggests that the items of gold, silver, and brass described in Chapter 8 were produced by artists commissioned by tribal chiefs. As suggested above, the metal tablets and woodpeckers may reflect chiefly attempts to balance the power of traditional authority, extra-areal relationships, and ties with the Spanish in gaining hegemony in affairs of local politics. Lewis (1978) discusses some of these political machinations, which apparently continued well into the late 17th century (Dickinson in Andrews and Andrews 1945).

Zoöomorphic symbolism

As the preceding chapters and illustrations make evident, zoöomorphic symbolism dominates in the art of the Glades tradition. Prior to involvement with Hopewellian styles, serpent imagery is most prevalent (Wheeler 1994). Even at this early stage in artistry, a certain relationship between form, medium, and design had developed. Serpent

imagery often involved antler beams shaped to resemble serpents; cross-hatch incising to connote the serpent's scales; or the rattlesnake tail pin embellishments mentioned in Chapter 4 (see Figure 9-2). The serpent survives as a theme within Glades art, combined during the late phase with design elements best associated with the late Mississippian Citico style shell gorgets. Scroll motifs on Safety Harbor ceramics also may be related to late portrayals of the serpent, and examples are included in Figure 9-2. Also included for comparative purposes in Figure 9-2 are rattlesnake depictions from both Hopewellian and Mississippian contexts. Note that the horned rattlesnake is prominent (see Figure 9-1).

Incipient phase additions to the corpus created an expanded repertoire including a host of avian images, as well as a limited amount of mammal or reptile imagery. Most notable influences are the bird and duckbill plummets, whose form is modified considerably through time, though remains as a traditional image. For Weeden Island artists the bird becomes the primary focus of artistic portrayals, with small numbers of dogs, bears, deer, and serpent forms. The Glades artists, however, develop a much broader corpus of animal imagery, though avian forms retain prominence. In this sense, the Glades tradition follows more closely the artistic patterns of Hopewell, while the parallel Weeden Island tradition develops a more distinctive local style.

Figure 9-3 compares roseate spoonbill imagery across temporal and geographic areas. The roseate spoonbill is an excellent example of the juxtaposition of abstract and naturalistic imagery described above. It is suggested here that the metal tablets of the contact era are an outgrowth of the more traditional portrayals of the spoonbill.

The focus on realistic zoöomorphic imagery is maintained well into the contact era, though some composite creatures and anthropomorphic iconography are introduced in the developed and late phases. This parallels developments in SECC and Mississippian art, though the primary focus in southern Florida remains on animal symbolism.

So what do these animals of peninsular Florida symbolize? Schwehm (1983:56-59) has suggested that the Fort Center carvings could be guardian spirits or clan totems. Roberts (1975) has investigated the possibility that the Weeden Island effigies might represent clan totems. The specific forms and contexts suggest limitations to notions of personal or corporate guardian spirits, or totemic interpretations. Animal representations exist at five broad formal levels: small effigies used in personal decoration; small carvings with mortuary or ceremonial connotations; elements of costume associated with ritual dance or drama; large carvings with corporate mortuary affiliations; and ceramic effigies associated with corporate mortuary rituals and mound construction activities. Considering the

diversity of animals, and the fact that animal representations occur together, either on the same artifact, which is rare, or in groups of artifacts each representing different animals, there is little indication that all these could be clan totems. An elaboration of Knight's (in Milanich et al. 1984) suggestion of a "master of game" figure is probably of use. Hultkrantz (1981:135-146) describes Native American beliefs in an "animal owner" or "animal spirit" that serves as master of all game animals, or owner of each specific species of animal. Hall (1979) suggests the Hopewellian representations of the roseate spoonbill, or spoonbill-like bird, were designed to emulate this "game-master." The notion of animal souls is a very basic element of totemism, but does not imply the kinship to humans most often associated with this term. Ethnohistoric documents of the early 17th century Timucua hint at a belief in animal souls, as special prayers were to be made when hunting or fishing (Francisco Pareja in Milanich and Sturtevant 1972:24-27). Lack of attention to these rituals could result in illness or misfortune, additional parallels to the animal-spirit complex known elsewhere (Hultkrantz 1992:107-108; Hudson 1984:15-18; Howard 1984:20-21). The ethnohistoric accounts of spirit journeys and ancestor veneration discussed above, indicate that the numerous representations of animals in Florida art probably have

direct connections to shamanism and the ancestors, who apparently reside in animals as spirits.

It is likely that the changes in social and political organization described by Widmer (1988) and Marquardt (1988, 1991) for southern Florida resulted in changes in the use of animal imagery. This does not mean that deeper beliefs about the animal world changed as well, but reflects the desire of leaders to control and concentrate traditional forms of power, and merge these with newly acquired forms of power and influence.

Anthropomorphic symbolism

Anthropomorphic symbolism is not quite as common as zoöomorphic symbolism (see Figure 9-4). The incipient-phase Hopewellian figurines are probably largely related to symbolic systems operating outside Florida, though some of these images are reinterpreted in wood, like the two small carvings from Key Marco. The human effigies of Weeden Island, representing a high point in depictions of the human form, have no clear parallels in Glades tradition arts, though Weeden Island examples do occur in the lower peninsula. As noted in Chapter 6, these Weeden Island effigies probably represent deceased leaders, priests or ancestors prepared for burial. The typical form is a stoic, closed-eyed male. Human imagery in southern Florida art is primarily confined to the late and terminal phases, where relationships to Mississippian and SECC forms exist. The

wooden effigies of the Lake Okeechobee basin are probably direct analogs to the human effigies of stone, wood and ceramic known from major Mississippian centers. There are indications in some of these lake region wood effigies that humans with animal masks or costumes are being portrayed, and this is clearly prefigured in the anthropomorphic animal effigies of Key Marco and Weeden Island. The stone images of Mississippian centers are usually considered ancestor images, and are often accorded burial in stone box graves or log crypts like their human counterparts (Willoughby 1932:12-14, 27-33; Kelly and Larson 1957:40-41; DePratter 1991:97-98, 109-115). There are probably parallels between the Mississippian pattern and the Florida ceramic and wood effigies. Smaller images of humans are likely to be spirit-like creatures, counterparts of the equally diminutive and stylistically related animal carvings (Geertz 1989:184-185).

Evaluation of Questions Posed in Chapter 1

Two questions were posed in Chapter 1 concerning the relationship of Glades arts to those of the Hopewellian and Mississippian horizons. At the heart of both questions are the deeper structures, or aesthetic patterns, that govern the outward expression manifested in material culture. The first questioned concerned the relationship of Hopewellian symbolism and that of peninsular Florida. Evidence from Fort Center, the "osseous bestiary," Key Marco, and Weeden Island indicates that structural patterns governing ritual

and artistic expression were shared by the people of peninsular Florida and the Midwest. As Greber and Ruhl (1989) suggest, these patterns involved concepts of complementary duality, and perhaps at a deeper level some specific metaphoric relationships between humans and animals. The specific use of deer antler headdresses, and deer effigies reflecting various stages in the male life cycle, reflect shared patterns between cultures of Florida and the Midwest. The occasional, but prominent appearance of the bear at Fort Center and Key Marco provide the complementary being to the deer, as noted in the Hopewellian pattern. I believe that the art and ritual of the Florida peninsula reflect a general Hopewellian pattern, with local elaborations in media, style, and process.

The second question deals with the relationship of peninsular Florida to the Mississippian horizon. Clearly there are features of SECC and Mississippian art in southern Florida, but what do these additions represent? I suggest here that the basic features of the Archaic and Hopewellian pattern are not substantially altered (as suggested by Widmer 1988), but the manifest changes reflect the desire of the emergent elite class to control traditional forms of art and ritual. This explains the parallel styles of expression--one with a focus on traditional animal imagery, and the other with a focus on human and human-related imagery.

Notes for Further Study

Several areas suggest themselves for further attention. Notable among these is establishing a better understanding of the reworking of European-derived metals in areas neighboring Florida. The initial attempts to do this indicate some striking parallels in adjacent areas (i.e., Louisiana), and in later tribal arts. Areas to look for parallels include Louisiana and coastal Georgia.

Comparison of the Irene phase of coastal Georgia and the Mississippian manifestations of southern Florida (including Safety Harbor) also may be a productive area of research. Several contact-era sites of coastal Georgia have strong parallels to the types of artifacts noted for Safety Harbor and terminal phase sites in Florida. This includes the unusual appearance of the Citico style rattlesnake described for Margate-Blount (see Figure 9-2).

The human portrait urns of Weeden Island deserve further study. Fragmentary specimens are quite diverse, and appear to extend the distribution of this artifact type over a broader range. These fragments, especially of the face, should be incorporated into the catalogue begun in Chapter 6. It would also be of interest to better document the context of each urn, with an eye toward associated effigy vessels and mound type (in Sears 1958 classification).

Further dating of the Key Marco collection also would seem a worthwhile and appropriate task. Considering the

dispersion of this material in four different museums, samples taken from specimens in each collection would minimize the effects of pesticide contamination and allow for better evaluation of the various claims for site chronology. Early dates from Key Marco may help establish this site as a progenitor of Mississippian art, rather than a borrower.

Conclusion

The arts of peninsular Florida present a rare and unusual case. Archaeologists are usually interested in the study of change, as demonstrable through the archaeological record. However, this is difficult in southern Florida, where levels of cultural development remained relatively static for several thousand years (Goggin 1949:28). Patterns of adaptation developed during the Archaic, and persisted well into the era of European contact. A technology of wood, shell and bone experiences little in the way of change, and the addition of ceramics has a negligible impact on economic life (Wheeler and McGee 1994). As documented here, basic patterns of symbology and belief also remained relatively unchanged.

Animals were the focus of artistic and ritual life, and this concentration on zoomorphic symbolism belies beliefs related to hunting rites and animal spirits. On a deeper level the animal world may have been a model for the human one, with appropriate symbolism drawn from prominent figures

in each. The expression of ideas about the world and its organization do, however, experience change. The mediation between aesthetic principles and artifact form results in an eclectic series of objects related to personal and ritual life. Changes in artifact form can largely be attributed to the artistic influences of near and distant neighbors. At each point of contact, the new ideas, forms or media are reworked to fit traditional aesthetic patterns. This process of reinterpretation is probably the most significant pattern evident in Florida art, and clearly allowed maintenance of traditional ways.

This mediation of aesthetics and form lies with the artist, who also may have had a shamanic character. As demonstrated through ethnohistoric literature, the ceremonial life of southern Florida was regulated by the shaman. Shamans served as cultural mediators, negotiating the relationships between animal spirits, living animals, dead ancestors and living human beings. The metaphoric mediation between spirit and human is a model for the role of shaman as artist. At this point, the mode of artistic portrayal takes the fore, representing some of the deeper patterns of aesthetics and belief. Changes in patterns of expression during the late and terminal phases of the Glades tradition probably do not reflect changes in deep structures, but shifts in sociopolitical organization.

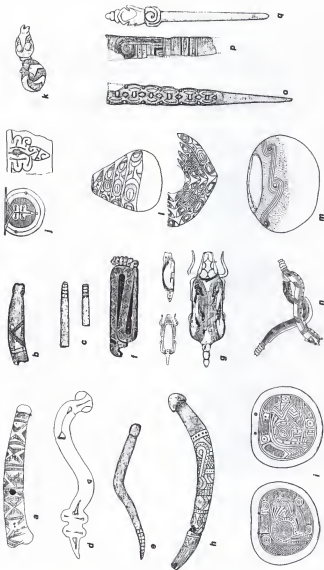
Focusing economic, social, and ritual power in the newly emerging elite and chiefly class adds another layer to the system of artistic expression. This results in a merger of traditional forms with new media and introduced motifs that reaffirms political and military leadership. Alongside this emergent system of expression is the older, more traditional set of naturalistic animal portrayals.

Despite the artistic creativity and resilience exhibited in the art and symbol systems of peninsular Florida, the toll of disease and European incursion was high. The material remains, like those discussed in the preceding pages, are the only physical reminders of the temples, adornments, rituals, and dances occasionally mentioned by the European chronicler.



Figure 9-1. Comparison of deer imagery. a, antler hair ornament, Gauthier (8BR193); b, antler carvings, wood, Fort Center, FLNHH; c, antler headdress, Belle Glade (after Willey 1949b:Pl. 9f); d-e, antler headaddresses of wood and copper, Hopewell, Ohio (from Willoughby 1917:Pl. 4); f, deer-human theme, engraved bone, Hopewell, Ohio (after Willoughby 1917:Pl. 6); g, Basin Bayou incised vessel with deer motif, Strange's Landing (after Moore 1902:195-196); h, deer-man effigy vessel, Weeden Island; i, young male deer vessel, Mound D, Kolomoki, Georgia (from Sears 1953:Pl. 9, used with permission); j, deer figurehead, Key Marco; k, horned alligator, painted box side, Key Marco; l, antlered falcon dancer, shell gorget, Etowah, Georgia (after Willoughby 1932:Fig. 29); m-o, antlered figures, shell dippers, Spiro, Oklahoma (after Hamilton 1952; Pl. 96; Phillips and Brown 1984:Pls. 230, 234). Not to scale.

Figure 9-2. Comparison of serpent imagery. a, antler carving, Gauthier, FBAR; b, antler carving, Republic Groves, FLNH 93-18-51; c, bone and ivory pins, Itchtucknee River, FLNH A2032, 102603; d, rattlesnake motif, Weeden Island plain, Hall (from Moore 1902:292); e, antler carving, Key Marco, UM 40440; f, rattlesnake tablet, stone, Paint Creek, Ohio (from Squier and Davis 1848:Fig. 196); g, "underwater panther," red slate, Turner, Ohio (from Willoughby 1917:Pl. 11); h, rattlesnake carving, antler, Margate-Blount, BCAS; i, Citico style rattlesnake gorgets, marine shell, Tennessee (from Holmes 1883:Pl. 64); j, serpent motif, Weeden Island Incised (after Fewkes 1924:Pl. 18b and Moore 1902:329); k, rattlesnake adorno, Mound D, Kolomoki, Georgia (after Sears 1953:Pl. 19a); l, serpent or avian motif, Safety Harbor Incised (after Willey 1949a:Fig. 64); m, scroll motif, Safety Harbor or Pinellas Incised, SFM A6522; n, rattlesnake design, Walls Engraved (after Phillips and Brown 1978:Pl. 70); o, rattlesnake motif, engraved and inlaid bone dagger, Nebot, FAU A2114; p-q, bone pins with rattlesnake motifs, Pine Harbor and Townsend Mound, late Irene phase, Georgia (after Cook and Pearson 1989:Fig. 2). Not to scale.



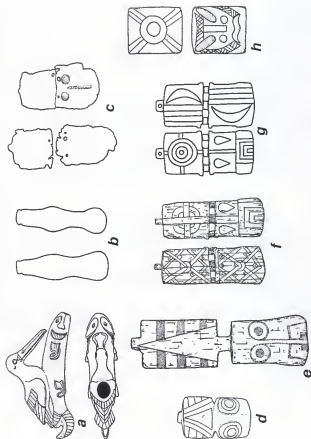


Figure 9-3. Comparison of duck, spoonbill, and tablet forms. a, Spoonbill effigy pipe, Hopewell Mound Group (Willoughby 1917:Pl. 10); b, outline of spoonbill effigy plummet, Jones; c, copper "tablets", Hope (8PA12), FLMNH A316, A317, A318; d, stone tablet, Rock Mound 1 (8MO26); e, duck-bill plaque, Key Marco (redrawn from photos); f, wood tablet, Punta Rassa (8LL7) (after Fewkes 1928:Pl. 2); g, silver ceremonial tablet, Fort Center, FLMNH; h, obverse and reverse of zoomorphic bone bead, Mound Key. Not to scale.

Figure 9-4. Comparison of human imagery. a, painted Hopewellian figurine, Block-Sterns; b, ivory figurine, Hopewell, Ohio (adapted from Willoughby in Greber and Ruhl 1989:Fig. 6.28); c, human with headdress, Hopewellian pipe sculpture, Mound City, Ohio (from Squier and Davis 1848:Fig. 142); d, human figurines, wood, Key Marco; e, humanoid figurine, wood, 8GL31; f, local copy of Hopewellian figurine, Kauffman Island (after Goggin 1951:100); g, local copy of Hopewellian figurine, Buck Mound, TWM; h, Weeden Island effigy urn, Ware Mound, TWM; i, effigy urn with spoonbill headdress, Gold Mound D, Kolomoki (after Sears 1953:55); j, effigy urn, Quafalorma Red and White, Gold Mine, Louisiana (after Belmont and Williams 1981:30); k, human effigy with feline headdress and pose, wood, Palm Hammock; l, human effigy, wood, Tomoka River; m-n, stone images, Etowah, Georgia (after Willoughby 1932:Figs. 3, 5); o, falcon-man or turtle-man mask, Key Marco; p, bobcat-man mask, Key Marco; q, Long Nosed God maskette, copper, Gahagan, Louisiana (after Williams and Goggin 1956:27). Not to scale.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ryan J. Wheeler was born in Reno, Nevada, to Harold A. Wheeler and Carol Langer Wheeler. Mr. Wheeler was raised in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and quickly developed an interest in the natural history of the surrounding region. Collecting shells, fossils, plants and animals led to research and conservation efforts focused on sea turtles and other marine animals. An extinct fossil shell, *Turbinella wheeleri* Petuch, was recently named in honor of Mr. Wheeler. Mr. Wheeler is an avid SCUBA diver and has certifications in deep wreck diving, as well as log time in an underwater laboratory. Academic degrees include the Bachelor of Arts in anthropology, *summa cum laude*, from Florida Atlantic University, and the Master of Arts from the University of Florida. Mr. Wheeler is employed by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, where he works for the C.A.R.L. archaeological survey.

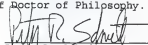
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Michael E. Moseley, Chair
Professor of Anthropology


I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


William H. Marquardt
Professor of Anthropology

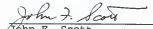
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Peter R. Schmidt
Associate Professor of
Anthropology

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Lynette Norr
Assistant Professor of
Anthropology

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John F. Scott
Associate Professor of
Art

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1996

Dean, Graduate School

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